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THE CRISIS

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A RECORD OF THE DARKER RACES

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IN THIS ISSUE

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COVER
Delethia Ferguson, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Ferguson, Jr., of 2265 Fifth Avenue, New York City.
RADICAL AND RIGHT 4
PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S "FEPC"—*By Clarence Mitchell* 5
SOUTH AFRICAN RACIAL PATTERNS—*By John Hatch* 11
THOMAS JEFFERSON AND THE NEGRO—*By Eleonore Sterling* 19
THE PREDATORY WHITE MAN—*By George Yamada* 25
EDITORIALS 34

DEPARTMENTS

GOOD NEWS 17
LOOKING AND LISTENING 36
ALONG THE NAACP BATTLEFRONT 40
BRANCH NEWS 46
COLLEGE AND SCHOOL NEWS 51
BOOK REVIEWS 59
LEGAL DIRECTORY 66

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33

Sketch of a fighter, Mrs. Mary Gannett

Radical and Right

MRS. GANNETT'S long interest in the NAACP seemed simple and natural to her. She had grown up in an old Philadelphia Quaker family. It was a part of the tradition that the first meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Association in 1833, at which Garrison and Whittier composed its ringing anti-slavery declaration, had been held in her grandfather's parlor; and that after Evan Lewis's death his widow, Sidney Ann Lewis, opened in her home a little shop for the sale of "anti-slavery documents and free cotton goods." During the anti-slavery riots of 1833, the mayor of Philadelphia called on Mrs. Lewis and advised her to take down her sign. 'I thank thee for thy friendly advice," the Quaker lady replied, "but do not feel disposed to follow thy suggestion."

That was before Mrs. Gannett was born, but it was the spirit of the home in which she grew up. Born in 1854, one of her earliest memories was of her father's concern, as superintendent of the Pennsylvania Railroad, in arranging President Lincoln's safe passage to Washington. In the 1870's she was a pioneer student at the University of Pennsylvania, slipping into a chemical laboratory through a back door before women were formally admitted. She was one of the young women who organized Philadelphia's pioneer New Century Club, "oldest chartered women's club in America," in 1877, and was one of its presidents in its early crusading years.

In 1887 she married the Rev. William Channing Gannett, a Unitarian minister who had grown up in a Boston Abolitionist tradition, and since 1891 Rochester, N. Y., has been her home. She and her husband took part in raising funds for the statue of their friend and fellow-Rochesterian, Frederick Douglass, in 1899 — the first statue to a colored man set up in America. Susan B. Anthony was a member of Dr. Gannett's congregation; crusaders for every form of equality were constant visitors in the Gannett's home. With Miss Anthony they led the campaign which opened the University of Rochester to women.

After her husband's death in 1923 Mrs. Gannett continued and even expanded her activity for civic

(*Continued on page* 62)

- **Why the NAACP is disappointed with President Truman's "FEPC" on federal contracts**

President Truman's "FEPC"

By Clarence Mitchell

"SINCE the start of the Korean War, we have been urging action by the President. We are disappointed because of the weakness and lack of enforcement power in this executive order. However, we must work to make the most of it and at the same time seek ways of strengthening it."

This was the comment of the NAACP'S Washington bureau when the President issued Executive Order 10,308. The White House said the order was meant to improve "the means for obtaining compliance with the nondiscrimination provisions of Federal contracts."

For the Washington bureau, which had carried much of the Association's strong fight for a real workable FEPC, the Truman pronouncement was a bitter disappointment.

Nevertheless, the order has been issued. The NAACP and other supporters of a program of fair employment must decide how to use this new weapon against discrimination.

Comment in the editorial columns of the *New York Post*, the *Afro-American*, the *Chicago Defender*, the *New York Times*, and the *Pittsburgh Courier* shares the tone of the NAACP's appraisal.

Walter White made the first observation on what practical action could be taken to make the best of a bad situation. He said, "Whatever good may come out of this order depends almost entirely upon the quality of the personnel appointed by the President."

Mr. White's statement puts a finger on the "switch" which the President can use if he really intends to have the new agency do a good job.

The order establishes an eleven member committee which is to "examine and study the rules, procedures, and practices of contracting agencies of the Government as they relate to obtaining compliance with Government contract provisions prohibiting discrimination."

The committee has the job of showing how these rules, practices and procedures can be strengthened. It also has the authority to make rec-

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CLARENCE MITCHELL *is director of the Washington bureau of the NAACP.*

ommendations which "in the judgment of the Committee will prevent or eliminate discrimination."

Six of the members of the Committee come from outside Government and will be paid only when actually serving. Five will be from contracting agencies of Government. These agencies are the Department of Defense, the Department of Labor, the Atomic Energy Commission, the General Services Administration, and the Defense Materials Procurement Agency.

In the week prior to issuance of the order, the Director of the NAACP's Washington bureau discussed it with some of the officials whose agencies will help to administer it. They indicated that they would recommend the President's lead on the type of representation they would recommend for their agencies.

Their line of reasoning was, "If the President appoints top people we will assign top people to do this job and they can get something done."

GOOD COMMITTEE

A good committee can get the member agencies to assign enough personnel from their staffs to make real investigations of discrimination. It can set the stage for the agencies to establish hearing panels to determine whether a complaint against a given company is bona fide.

As an illustration of how the committee can work, even under its present sharply restricted functions, let us consider a complaint against a company with an Air Force contract.

The Committee could request that a panel of its members get and review the evidence in the case. If the panel included the Defense Department member, clearly the contractor would have to put in an appearance and give a full statement of the facts.

Let us suppose that the Defense Department member of the panel agreed that there was discrimination, but refused to ask his agency to do anything about it. The committee could review the panel's report and call upon the Air Force to take steps for the "prevention and elimination of such discrimination."

If the Air Force refused to heed the Committee's request, the body could call upon the Director of Defense Mobilization, now Charles E.

ON DECEMBER 3, 1951, President Truman issued an executive order establishing a "Committee on Government Contract Compliance" for business establishments and subcontractors doing work for the federal government. "The purpose of this order," according to the President, "is to secure better compliance by contractors and subcontractors with certain provisions now required in their contracts with the United States Government. For nearly ten years it has been mandatory to include in such contracts a clause obligating the contractor to practice nondiscrimination in the performance of his contracts.

"The clause specifically forbids discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin; relates to the various aspects of employment; and extends to subcontracts as well as to original contracts."

Wilson, to help in getting compliance. He, in turn, could get help from the President .

This brings us back to the comment of Mr. White. If the public members of the committee are outstanding people of integrity, they will follow some such program as I have outlined.

SIGNALS IMPORTANT

Basically, of course, the Committee will get its signals from the White House. The President has said, "In fulfilling a contract with the Federal Government a contractor should follow the national policy of equal treatment and opportunity. It is my belief that the Committee on Government Contract Compliance will show us the way."

The words "equal treatment" have an ominous ring for colored people. We fear that some White House advisers still think it is possible to have segregation in employment without discrimination.

The great truth that segregation in employment inevitably leads to discrimination was dramatically established during the War. Companies found that they simply could not build separate restaurants and toilets each time they hired or transferred a colored employee to an all-white department. Hence those, who for one reason or another, maintained segregated facilities invariably discriminated against colored people in hiring, promotion, and transfers.

Some companies deliberately maintain segregation in working arrangements because they know that this will make it possible to continue the use of colored people in unskilled jobs while saving the more desirable jobs for whites.

One of the first jobs facing the Committee is taking a clear cut stand against segregation. Any vacillation on this will simply repeat the troubles encountered by the Wartime FEPC in the U. S. Cartridge Company of St. Louis, Missouri, the West Coast Shipyards, and numerous machine shops in the South. In all of these cases, failure to take a stand against segregation at the outset resulted in terrible wastes of manpower plus long and tedious actions to correct the problems that arose.

SECOND JOB

A second job confronting the Committee is establishing rules which will convince employers and contracting agencies that mere volume of colored people on the payroll does not prove that there is no discrimination.

The Government wartime files are full of letters from Army engineers who insisted that construction employment was fair on a given project because "several thousand Negro laborers were employed." Colored carpenters, electricians, and plumbers would be barred, but the Army engineers would insist that "this was not discrimination." The Committee must accept the principle that, even though a company may have a hundred colored laborers, it discriminates if it refuses to hire qualified colored skilled workers for existing openings.

As a third responsibility, the Committee must obtain, through the contracting agencies, sufficient personnel to do the required job. This is not a routine assignment that can be handled by the run-of-the-mill employees. Some of the agencies already employ persons who can handle these matters intelligently. Other experts in this field should be hired.

The Committee needs an executive director who knows the problem of discrimination in employment. It is possible to hire an executive of this type and have one of the contracting agencies pay his salary.

PAST MISTAKES

The Committee must avoid the mistakes made by the Board which at present administers the President's Fair Employment Order on Government employment. This Board, now operating out of the Civil Service Commission, has a minuscule staff of whites only. Hence it has difficulty persuading other Government agencies not to discriminate because it does not set the right example itself.

The Committee should get the contracting agencies to agree upon what steps will be taken to enforce the non-discrimination clause if investigation shows that a given contractor is discriminating. There are several possibilities for a workable program of enforcement. For example, there is a suggestion that contracting agencies could ask the Department of Justice to seek court action against those who violate the clause.

If a compliance program is worked out now it can be done objectively. In many cases, clear cut compliance machinery will speed up the handling of complaints because agencies need not waste time in endless negotiations if they know that the problem can be settled by some orderly process. One of the great frustrations of the wartime FEPC was knowledge that the President could take over a plant that refused to follow an FEPC directive, but that the chance of getting him to take such an action was usually remote.

Finally, we must remember that no matter how well the Committee does its job, it will not be a substitute for a legislative FEPC. We must continue to work for that.

No long term progress can be made in eliminating job discrimination unless there is a permanent FEPC. Such an agency must be broad enough to reach all industry and labor unions in interstate commerce.

* * *

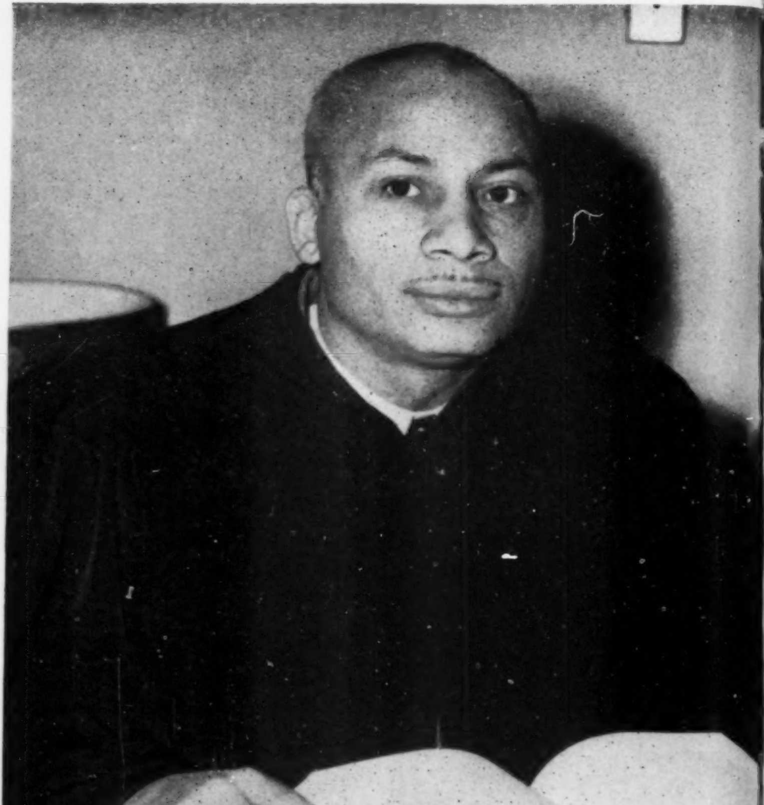
DID YOU KNOW —

That the Negroes of Philadelphia, Pa., formed a library society in 1833?

The Philadelphia society was formed in February, 1833, and titled the "Philadelphia Library Company of Colored People." Purpose of the society was "a proper cultivation for literary pursuits and the improvement of the faculties and powers of their minds . . ."

Wide World

NEW PENN CAPTAIN—*Fran Murray (left), University of Pennsylvania director of athletics, and coach George Munger (center), congratulate Penn's newly-elected football captain, Bob Evans, 215-pound tackle. Murray is the first Negro to captain a Penn football team in the 75-year history of the school.*



Wide W

PRESIDES AT FORGERY TRIAL—*General Sessions Judge Harold A. Stevens, New York City, is shown in his chambers during recess in trial of Mrs. Evyleen Cronin, former maid-secretary of actress Tallulah Bankhead, charged with forgery and grand larceny. Judge Stevens, sworn in last January, is the first Negro ever elected to this position in New York City.*

- An analysis of the factors in South Africa's frenzied racialism

South African Racial Patterns

By *John Hatch*

IN the field of race relations the situation in South Africa has a primary importance. The racial pattern of this country is unique in the respect that at one and the same time you have a minority white ruling caste and a majority of non-white peoples; state sovereignty, which gives that ruling caste an unrestricted power, and a European settlement which is almost universally considered to be permanent, in contrast to the temporary tenure of the colonial administrator. The South African nation thus presents the picture of a multi-racial community in which the small white minority holds an absolute monopoly of political, economic, and social power. It is not therefore surprising that colored people throughout the world regard the South African example as a vital test of the attitude of white to colored when both happen to live in the same community.

JOHN HATCH *is a lecturer in international relations at the University of Glasgow, Scotland, and a specialist in South African race problems.*

The South African population consists of 8.3 million Native Africans, 2.6 million Europeans, just over a million Colored (of mixed descent) and 320,000 Indians. It is from this racial division that all the opportunities and problems of the nation arise. If it were not for this particular complexity of relationships, South Africa would be unimportant in world affairs; but the structure of her population immediately gives her the opportunity to experiment with and develop a pattern of racial relations which could be of immense benefit to the world as a whole, where similar problems have increasingly to be solved. The opportunity which is presented to this nation at the same time creates its most important national problems, and it is in the solution of these problems that South Africa can find its greatest significance on the world scene.

It is only comparatively recently that the racial problem in South Africa has reached the status of a challenge, and apart from the gold rush of sixty years ago and the minor disturbance of the Boer War, it is this racial challenge alone which has brought the Union into international significance. The racial problem itself is very closely bound up with the industrialization of South Africa, which had been proceeding very slowly throughout the century, but which recently has been considerably speeded up. Just after the First World War the gross industrial output of the country was only £92,000,000. In 1939 it was still only £199,000,000, but today it has risen to £582,000,000. This rapid recent growth of industrialization has taken place in a land which was mainly and traditionally pastoral for both the white and colored races. It has resulted in a rapid and unplanned urbanization, which is the main cause of the recent aggravation of racial tensions.

EUROPEAN POPULATION

The European population of South Africa can be divided into its two main streams of Afrikaner, those descended from the Dutch, and British, in the proportion of about six to four. The Afrikaner tradition was clearly and symbolically expressed in the phrase embodied in the original Constitution of the Transvaal—"No equality in Church or State." The British tradition is by no means so intransigent and it was indeed largely British ideas of equality before the law which produced the Great Trek of the Afrikaners from the Cape Province in the 1830's and 1840's. Certainly until the time of Union in 1910 there was a widespread tradition of liberalism within the Cape Province and up to that time no discrimination existed in the franchise laws. Since the Union, however, the Afrikaner spirit has rapidly spread throughout the country and today, with the exception of a few isolated individuals, the entire European population believes in the maintenance of white supremacy.

With the growth of industrialization and urbanization, therefore, there has been an inevitable conflict in racial attitudes. Many Afrikaners still resent the development of industry and believe that it is undermining the traditional beliefs and practices of their people. On the farms it is fairly simple to maintain the master-servant relationship between European and Non-European, but this attitude is naturally increasingly challenged within urban life. The industrialization of the country necessitates a growing proletariat and the Non-European population of the towns has rapidly increased with very little and extremely primitive housing provision. This has led to the appalling shanty towns which are to be seen on the outskirts of every South African urban area. Hovels built of mud-bricks at the best, or tin cans at the worst, are the homes of millions of Non-Europeans today. On the other hand, industrialization necessarily leads to the demand for better educated laborers and this has necessitated developing a Non-European educational system. Between 1939 and 1949 the number of Native children at school rose from 424,000 to 770,000. Education inevitably leads to a demand for political and social rights, rights which the South African European absolutely and unconditionally refuses. The nation is, therefore, in a cleft stick. If its income is to increase, Non-European education must develop and, in its turn, comes stronger and more virile political organization amongst every section of the Non-European community.

AFRIKANER TRADITION

Since the Union in 1910 it is the spirit and tradition of the Afrikaner which has spread to the rest of the country. Steeped in the fanatical belief of white supremacy and reinforced in that belief by the curious biblical interpretation of the Dutch Reformed church, Afrikaner nationalism, which was militarily defeated in 1902, has now secured an almost complete spiritual victory. In economic life, capital and property has always been practically a white monopoly and the Non-Europeans have never had the opportunity to accumulate capital and develop their own society in the way in which Negroes of the southern states of America or Indians under British rule have been able to do. Since 1910, however, a deliberate and consistent policy has been adopted to drive the Non-Europeans completely into the unskilled labor market. This white labor policy has even been supported by the Trade Union Movement and the South African Labor Party and, although there is a small Non-European professional class, its growth is far outbalanced by the depression of Non-European artisans into the ranks of unskilled laborers. This trend, of course, directly hinders the economic progress of the country; but, in South Africa, economic interests always take second place to racial ideology.

In social life the down-grading of the Non-Europeans has been even more marked and the customs which were traditional in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State have now spread very widely to the Cape itself. Segregation is enforced in public vehicles, in railway stations, in all forms of entertainment and sport, and in residence. Only recently an edict was issued compelling airway companies to provide separate head-covers for Europeans and Non-Europeans, and to ensure that they are laundered separately; whilst angry questions were raised in Paraliament itself when a senator dared to entertain two visiting Chinese diplomats in the parliamentary coffee room. These are simply small instances of the social indignities which are a commonplace of every day life for Non-Europeans in all parts of the Union.

IMPORTANT ACTS

These indignities have recently been strongly reinforced by legislative action. Over the last two and a half years four socially important acts have been passed. The Mixed Marriages Act forbids any marriage between Europeans and Non-Europeans. This Act is an amendment of the Immorality Act of the Hertzog government which had forbidden interracial sexual intercourse but not marriage. Now both marriage and sexual intercourse between whites and blacks are banned. The Population registration Act which provides for the registration of all adults in the state according to their racial origins. The Group Areas Act which gives the government power to divide up the entire country into racial areas in which only those of the specified racial group shall be allowed to live, own, or occupy property. In this way, therefore, social prejudices and taboos have now passed into the sphere of criminal jurisdiction.

Similarly, in the poltical field, the whole trend of legislation is to deprive Non-Europeans of any rights which they possess and of opportunities for increasing such rights. The South Africa Act of 1910 left the Non-Europeans in the Cape with their traditional political equality except that they were now disqualified from standing for Parliament. Since then an increasing attack has been made upon the liberalism of the Cape.

In 1930 European women were given a vote without the same right being extended to Non-European women. This immediately, of course, halved the importance of the Non-European franchise. The following year all income, property, and educational qualifications for European men and women were abolished. In 1936 Parliament removed all African Natives in the Cape from the common electoral role and substituted a communial franchise, giving the Natives three European members of Parliament in the Cape and four senators for the whole country. This measure was passed by a two-thirds majority of both houses of Parliament sitting together in common session, the required constitutional procedure according to the South Africa Act.

Now the Govenment has passed a bill removing the last section of Non-Europeans, the Colored people, from the common electoral role. They have been put on separate rolls. The political situation in the Union now is such that two and a half million Europeans will elect a hundred and fifty members of Parliament; one million Colored will elect four European members; the Natives in the Cape will have three European members; four senators will represent eight and a quarter million Natives; one senator the million Colored; and the Indians will have no representation at all.

And if the Malan Government establishes its right to change the Constitution by a simple majority there will be nothing to prevent it from abolishing entirely all forms of Non-European representation.

WHITE SUPREMACY

It can therefore be clearly seen that the opportunities presented in South Africa for experiment in multiracial cooperation are being interpreted by the European community as an opportunity to establish a monopoly of power for the white minority. Some sections of the Non-European population believe that it is possible to separate European and Non-European entirely, in time; to create at least two separate states, and to give the Non-Europeans complete power within their own community.

Yet this theory and all other forms of European policy are now entirely rejected by all sections of the Non-European community. They consider such theories as specious camouflage for the central European policy of entrenching white supremacy. They are accordingly organizing their own political institutions which, whilst still torn by rivalry and jealousy, are all fundamentally opposed to the principle of white supremacy. At times some of these organizations combine, as they did last June [1951] when the African National Congress, the Indian National Congress, and the African Peoples Organization organized a one-day national political strike to protest against discriminatory legislation.

When the bill to remove the Colored people from the common electoral roll was before Parliament, such widely varied organizations as the All-African Convention, the Anti-Colored Advisory Department Organization, and the Non-European Unity Movement got together and organized protest demonstrations against the bill. But without arms and with very little finance, these organizations can do very little. Their main tactic is a policy of non-collaboration, and this is likely to be most effectively applied by the withdrawal of labor.

The Government's reaction to this Non-European opposition is to increase its own powers of suppression. In 1950 the Government passed the Suppression of Communism Act, which, in fact, gives it the power to outlaw any opposition organization and to drive opposition leaders out of public life.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the opportunities for interracial experiment in South Africa are being wantonly rejected because of the fears and prejudices of South-African Europeans based upon their almost innate belief in racial superiority. There can be little doubt that present South African policy is one of trying to turn the clock back. It meets, however, with opposiiton from within and without he country. Yet it seems inevitable that a series of clashes of an increasingly bitter nature will result. Weakness of the Non-Europeans will lead to initial defeats and martyrdom, but in the long run they will get their revenge.

The tragedy is that in the increasing bitterness which this process will inevitably entail the opportunities for interracial understanding and cooperation will progressively decline. South Africa can hardly avoid a long period of white and non-white hostility.

◆

DID YOU KNOW —

That Dr. John S. Rock of Boston, Mass., was the first Negro attorney admitted to the bar of the United States Supreme Court?

Dr. Rock was abolitionist and physician as well as lawyer. He was also a very effective orator.

★ ★ ★

That Negroes owned a street railway in North Jacksonville, Florida, in 1908?

The road was financed by Negro capital, had Negro directors and president, and all its employees were Negroes.

GALA BENEFIT—*Branch officers and sponsors of social given by Boston, Mass., branch on December* 16 *at Latin Quarter. This very successful social was given by the branch entertainment committee, chairmaned by Mrs. Gladys McAdoo, with Lorenza Cuzzens as ticket chairman. Seated, left to right: Robert Lufkin of Fitchburg, sponsor; Lionel Lindsay, president Boston branch; Louis Pasco, Sr., honorary vice-president branch; back row: Baron Frary Von Blomberg, chairman of sponsors; and Dr. Maurice Cohen of Boston.*

Good News

Cephas Vaughan, 14, of Washington, D. C., has been presented the "Alert Youth" award of the National Association of Mutual Insurance Agents for saving twin babies from a burning building. Vaughan is the tenth American to win this award.

★ ★ ★

Bob Evans, tackle, has been elected captain of the 1952 University of Pennsylvania football team. Evans, a native of Philadelphia, is the second Negro to captain a football team in a major eastern college and the first in the 75-year history of the U of P.

★ ★ ★

Cpl. John M. Demby of Philadelphia, Pa., has a perfect five-year Army record. He won three battle stars during his nine months in Korea and was recently awarded the Good Conduct Medal.

★ ★ ★

Ethel Waters, famous singer and actress, sang recently with the Kansas City Philharmonic Orchestra.

★ ★ ★

Lewis Flagg III of Brooklyn, N. Y., has been sworn in as an Assistant United States Attorney for the eastern New York district in federal court, Brooklyn. Flagg, the first Negro to receive such an appointment in Brooklyn, is a veteran of World War II and a holder of the Bronze Star.

★ ★ ★

The voting committees of the Baseball Writers Association of America named 20-year-old Willie Mays of the New York Giants as one of the rookies of the year 1951. It was May's brilliant batting and fielding that helped launch the Giants on their pennant drive last year.

★ ★ ★

Edward O. (Ned) Gourdin has been appointed special justice of the Roxbury, Mass., district court. He is the first Negro special justice in the history of Massachusetts. Mr. Gourdin was famous some thirty years ago as an athlete.

STATE CONFERENCE—*Founders' day dinner of the Georgia NAACP state conference, Savannah, Georgia, December 7-9, 1951.* BOTTOM: *Some of the delegates in attendance at the December meeting of the Georgia NAACP state conference.*

■ **How Thomas Jefferson arrived at his theories of Negro inferiority**

Thomas Jefferson and the Negro

By Eleonore Orland Sterling

IN the last two or three decades there has been an increasing interest in the father of the Declaration of Independence, Thomas Jefferson. His works contain a fountain of knowledge and are an ever-lasting source of inspiration to the American liberal tradition. Thomas Jefferson embodied the most progressive ideas and aspirations of the libertarian eighteenth century: its belief in human goodness, its faith in progress, and its trust in science and the enlightenment of reason over dogma and tyranny.

When historians and biographers discuss Jefferson's opposition to slavery, they recognize in him the great humanitarian and natural-rights philosopher. However, when they are confronted with his views on the physical and mental inferiority of the Negro, they suddenly suffer from an attack of intellectual amnesia. They prefer not to face squarely the consequences of the inconsistency of Jefferson's theories of Negro inferiority with the proclamation, so fundamental to American democracy, that all men are created equal. We might do well to rouse ourselves from our liberal slumber in order to view in Jefferson's writings not only the roots of that which is greatest in the American liberal tradition, but also the split existing within its very soul.

When the Negro was first enslaved in America, his subjugation was almost unquesioned. Religious doctrine sanctioned slavery and doomed the Negro because of an ancient sin, a way of thinking taken over from feudal and post-feudal Europe. Though the enlightenment of the eighteenth century uprooted religious dogma and feudal values, yet in America the establishment of political and legal rights failed to free the Negro from slavery. Justification for his subjugation was simply shifted to new categories. The ideological vacuum created by the decline of the force of religious dogma, as an

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ELEONORE ORLAND STERLING *lives in New York City.*

instrument of apology for slavery, was soon filled by a new myth—the biological hierarchy of the human races.

The natural law doctrine of the American revolutionaries, as it was also held by Jefferson, gave an entirely new vision of society as it is and ought to be. The colonists opposed all tyranny and religious dogma and were dominated by a radically egalitarian morality. In most cases the foremost advocates of the freedom and equality of the revolutionaries were also advocates of the freedom and equality of the Negro slaves. However, there were some who contended that the principles of the Declaration of Independence did not apply to Negroes. They began to draw the authority for their inconsistent faith in human nature from the writings of Hume and Voltaire who had suggested theories of the diverse origin of the human species.

EUROPEAN ANATOMISTS

A group of European anatomists, in the spirit of the Enlightenment, set out to study man's nature by the inductive method and by observation. These writers recognized *homo sapiens* only as a species of the animal world and studied the human mind and body as biological phenomena. Jefferson joined this new scientific movement with great enthusiasm. He viewed science as essential to a free republican government and to the promotion of the freedom and happiness of mankind. Jefferson acquired great proficiency in all the areas of scientific endeavor which his age deemed important. His palaeontological collections and studies of plant and animal life in America made an important contribution to scientific knowledge.

In his correspondence and his *Notes on Virginia* (1781) he joined the controversy over the variety of the human species which was then in progress among European anatomists. He leaned toward the faction which refuted the doctrine of the French natural scientist, the Comte de Buffon, who had stated that all men are of the same species. The writers in this group maintained that the Negro stands on the lowest rank of the racial hierarchy; indeed, that he resembles the ape most closely while the white man is superior in mind and body. Measurements of innumerable skulls and skeletons, as well as data on skins and facial contours were eagerly collected. These scientific gentleman finally managed, out of all their data, to deduce conclusions which rested on the very same arbitrary assumptions and prejudices which they had held before embarking upon their investigations.

NEW APOLOGY

Their work helped, however, to lay the foundations for a new apology for social injustice. In the name of progress and enlightenment, they gave scientific sanction to prejudice.

This new pseudo-scientific method seemed to have proved the biological and mental inferiority of the Negro. It provided, therefore, an argument which helped Jefferson to escape from a dilemma which disturbed him all his life. He was deeply torn by the contradiction between the idealistic aims of the American Revolution and the continued practice of slavery. On the one hand, he proclaimed that all men are created equal and endowed with inalienable rights. On the other hand, despite many plans and intentions, he failed to free his own slaves during his life time because of the serious social and economic hardship it might have entailed.

In principle Jefferson was one of the most fervent opponents of slavery of his time. He recognized the trade in human beings as the "exercise of the most boisterous passions," which destroys master and slave alike. His repeated efforts were not only intended to make possible the legal emancipation of the slaves but also to provide for their livelihood after liberation.

In the original draft of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson listed the issue of slavery as one of the grievances of the colonists against the British crown for "waging cruel war against human nature itself." The southern slave-owners, however, refused to go along with his policies because the slave system still represented, to them, an enormous investment. It appeared to Jefferson that the new republic had the wolf by the ears but that it could neither hold him nor safely let him go. Justice seemed to be in one scale and self-preservation in another.

RACIAL ABSURDITIES

Thomas Jefferson, like other enlightened thinkers of his age, refuted theological, political and philosophical explanations of the inequality of man. The "suspicion" that the "blacks whether originally a distinct race or distinct by time and circumstances are inferior to the whites in endowments both of body and mind" appeared, therefore, to be the one remaining avenue of escape from his dilemma.

It is curious how the most high-minded humanitarian will contrive the greatest absurdities in order to cover up his inconsistencies. In order to ease his troubled conscience, Jefferson projected the problem into the future. He ardently wished to believe that in a few generations the dilemma would somehow be dissolved. For the present moment, however, he took refuge in absurd assumptions and prejudgments, endowing them with the dignity of "scientific" proof.

In his *Notes on Virginia* (Query XIV) Jefferson contended that "the fine mixtures of red and white" in the white man, his "flowing hair" and "his more elegant symmetry of form" are more pleasing than the Negro's "external monotony, which reigns in the countenances, that immovable veil of black which covers the emotions."

Even the Negroes themselves, he wrote, declare their preference for white "as uniformly as is the preference of the oran-ûtan for the black woman over those of his own species." The Negroes are "more ardent after their female; they secrete less by the kidneys, and more by the glands of the skin, which gives them a very strong and disagreeable odor"; their griefs are transient; their existence partakes more of a sensual than reflective nature; they are wanting in forethought and inferior in reason; they are dull, tasteless and anomolous in imagination in spite of the "leniency" and "opportunities" given them in America whereby, he thought, they might have improved themselves.

COMMON LIFE IMPOSSIBLE

He believed that deep-rooted prejudices entertained by whites and recollections by Negroes of sustained injuries would make common life impossible. The "real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions, which will probably end but in the extermination of the one or the other race." He proposed, therefore, gradual liberation of Negroes, and, when freed, their removal "beyond the reach of mixture" with the white race. He supported schemes for colonization of free Negroes in Louisiana, the West Indies, South America and the West Coast of Africa.

Jefferson's doubts as to the mental and biological equality of the Negroes were cautious in tone, and he pointed out that scientific study had not sufficiently explored the matter to verify his conjectures conclusively. In the years following Jefferson's death the need to rationalize the contradictions between the egalitarian ideals of the American Revolution and the practice of slavery became more urgent. As the Civil War drew nearer, southern intellectuals argued that actual white liberty and equality was possible only as long as the Negro was kept in subjection. They rationalized his exclusion from the benefits of the American Creed of liberty and equality by declaring him a member of a separate and inferior species of man. And they did not fail to cite Jefferson to give authority to their prejudices. In the North anti-slavery writers also assumed great radical differences; but, out of charity or perplexity, they preferred to allow their bias to slumber underground.

FOGGY ASSUMPTIONS

Since the Reconstruction concepts of racial inferiority have played a more or less conscious role, both in the North and South, as an apology for the continuation of the Negro's subjugation. The biological theory provided a convenient defense mechanism against the challenge which his position presented to the most cherished American ideals of liberty and equality. In a sense, racial prejudice may be regarded not as an opposition to the philosophy of a scientific and libertarian age, but as a parasite thriving upon it.

Liberty and equality remain the most treasured possessions of the American heart, but a fog of assumptions about the mind and body, as well as the origin and purpose of man's existence continue to envelop the attitudes we hold toward our fellowmen. The recognition of the contradictions in our tradition should not lead us to despair. Rather should we acknowledge our obligation to re-examine our own democratic values for blind spots such as are evident in the writings of Thomas Jefferson, the father of our Decaration of Independence.

EX-CHAMP BUYS NAACP CHRISTMAS SEALS — *Ezzard Charles, world's heavyweight champion contender, buys a sheet of NAACP Christmas seals from Mrs. Tarea Hall Pittman, president northern California area conference NAACP branches. The seal campaign in the northern California area conference was under the leadership of Mrs. Pittman.*

STATE CONFERENCE—*Five leaders at Alabama state conference NAACP branches exchange ideas on civil-rights. L to R: W. C. Patton, president; Rev. W. A. Benton, president Mississippi conference; Clarence Mitchell, director Washington NAACP bureau; James Hinton, president S. C. conference; and Eugene Montgomery.* BOTTOM: *Delegation from Alabama conference meets Walter White at airport.*

■ **How the Hopi Indians have fared at the hands of the white man**

The Predatory White Man

By George Yamada

THE 4,500 Hopi Indians live hemmed into 1,000 square miles of NE Arizona desert, where their eleven villages cling to the high wind-swept mesas. The Hopi are an industrious people who cultivate corn, melon, and beans as they have done for thousands of years. But despite their industriousness the Hopi find themselves in distress because of the drastic diminution of their land base, which is presided over by the omniscient Indian Bureau.

Previously the Hopi had possessed over a million head of sheep, which, along with peach trees and melons, were a legacy of Spanish rule. Today the livestock grazing of the Hopi is restricted and limited to District Six, a quarter of the Hopi jurisdiction. It is an area of one thousand square miles surrounding the villages. In 1943 the Navajo were confirmed in the use of the other three-fourths of this Hopi jurisdiction, still called officially "Hopi Reservation."

The crisis of the Hopi is cultural as well as economic. Today the Hopi symbolize a rugged resistance to the enticements and brutality of civilization and a hardy survival in face of constant oppression. Their life is a saga of hardship, resistance, persecution and integrity.

How long the Hopi Way can withstand the encroachments of civilization remains to be seen. While dominant White Civilization is crumbling everywhere, Hopi culture is whole and wholesome.

The complex of white superiority is a major delusion of our time. After 424 years of support for the principle of Indian self-government, there is little Indian self-government. "How can we explain the fact that despite all the respect and reverence shown to the principle of Indian self-government across four centuries that there is so little left today of Indian self-government?" asks Felix Cohen,

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GEORGE YAMADA, *a former resident of Arizona, now lives in Mexico City, Mexico.*

author of the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* and former Solicitor in the Department of Interior. The white man's delusion of superiority is apparent in Laura Thompson's *Culture in Crisis,* a study of the Hopi Indians, in which she writes:

> For despite all these efforts on the part of government officials, it is generally admitted that the attempt to achieve a genuine, tribe-wide political unity among the Hopi has thus far made little headway. . . . However, at least a beginning has been made toward Hopi tribal self-government.

Apparently this educated author is completely unaware that Hopi tribal *self-government* was in existence long before the coming of the white man. As the oldest surviving traditional and religious form of government in this country, a theocracy with authority vested in hereditary tribal chieftains, it is a true democracy with no written laws, no police, prisons, paid politicians or taxation. A government more democratic or police-free has not existed anywhere in the world, until its attempted subjugation by the white man. Miss Thompson disparages Hotevilla because in that village the traditional tribal chiefs have firmly resisted white aggression. Yet she does not question the imposition of the white man's rule.

HOPI TRADITIONS

A civilization may be gauged by its values—sincerity, courage, poise, self-respect and integrity—not by the number or intricacy of its gadgets and bureaucracies. In terms of values the traditional Hopi way, affirmed and defended preeminently by the "rebel" Hotevillans, is stable, while dominant aggressive white civilization, where these values are in their twilight, is crumbling. Whose culture is superior?

Indications pointing to the slow disintegration of the Hopi way are becoming ominously apparent. It is a story of the "White Man's burden" —arrogant colonialism, U. S. style. Government agencies themselves abet and promote the disintegration of the Hopi people by seeking, as in the past with other Indian tribes, to dominate and subvert their culture, to incorporate them into the mainstream without their consent.

The traditional Hopi have determinedly resisted the avowed "benefits of Civilization"—the drafting of Hopi youth into the Armed Forces, the "stock reduction" program of the Indian Bureau, and the misdirected zeal of their missionaries from the beginnings of white encroachment.

The colonial devices of the Indian Bureau fit into a familiar formula. Foisting a government - conceived agency, the so-called Tribal Council, upon the Hopi, as well as imposing upon them a constitution written in Washington, the Indian Bureau bypasses a democratic tribal government which was in existence long before the arrival of the white man. Rather it seeks a subservient tribal governing body to facilitate Washington policy. For this reason it buys "educated" Hopi youth who have been sent to government schools at tender age; a generation whose cultural conflict is appropriately exploited by the government.

According to the University of Arizona *Bulletin*:

> To this day it is the old men who are

looked up to and depended upon to direct the people in all important matters. . . . In government, the village is the unit, and a genuinely democratic government, its laws are traditional and unwritten. Theft is almost unheard of, and the taking of life by force or laws is unknown. The Hopi live, move and have their being in religion. . . . The social order of the people is established and maintained by way of tribal ceremonials . . . the very foundation of ancient wisdom. . . . Surely no people on earth, not even the Chinese, show a more consistent reverence for the wisdom of the past. . . .

The hereditary chiefs are not connected in any way with the Tribal Council, the government-sponsored agency whose members are generally employees of the Indian Bureau, and mainly recruited from a generation trained in federal Indian schools. Many Hopi children whose parents resisted their compulsory school attendance were forcibly separated from home for as long as eight years and sent to these government schools great distances from their parents in order to destroy their traditional culture. Such was the conqueror's policy of "assimilation." Hopi resistance to alien domination is expressed by Katchongva, advisor to the chief of the village of Hotevilla:

> I have been persecuted, went through white man's jail many times, suffered hunger, was beaten up and dragged through dust. I have many times wiped my blood and tears from my face, all because I want to live my own life and remain true to my traditions and religion. White man has sought to destroy my way of life but I shall not abandon it. . . . I wanted to stand true to the old traditions that are sacred to me and I found before me a door open to the jail. Then, when you found me it proved to me that you were not looking for a poor Indian, a humble man. You were looking for a man of pride, a man of wealth, and your efforts were all concentrated on that man of pride and wealth, and I, a poor man, was trampled under.

The fundamental premises of the Hopi and of Washington are irreconcilable: the premise of the Hopi is to evolve his own cultural life, to be left alone to seek his own salvation, and to manage his own affairs without interference, as he has done for thousands of years. The premise of the Indian Bureau is to force the only remaining sovereign Indians into the strait jacket of the white man's civilization. It is logically and morally indefensible of Washington to suppose that the Hopi should accept it premises. The Hopi have never been at war with nor signed any treaties or agreements with the United States. It considers itself a sovereign nation.

COLONIAL MENTALITY

Unconscious as it may be of its colonial mentality, the psychological outlook permeating the Indian Bureau is one of master over slave. Whereas other Indian tribes have become servile in their submission, the Hopi have stubbornly refused to accept that status. They are too well aware that their submission will destroy them and their traditional way of life. The traditional Hopi leaders have stated:

> . . . be careful and watch the ways of the White Man with diligence. His tongue is sweet, his hand is quick and he will not hesitate to use any means

to obtain that which his heart desires. He will use tricks, rations, money and material things to defeat us in taking away our land from us. All the laws and policies he makes which at first glance may appear good and just are aimed at taking from under us our homeland. Let us not fall into their traps from which we may not be able to liberate ourselves. We must take our stand upon our moral grounds, our wise teachings of our forefathers, and be free from all foreign doctrines and ideologies. The more we accept material gifts from the government the more we go in debt to him.

The blight of the white man's civilization has left its marks on every Indian tribe which has been bribed, tricked, or coerced into submission. Every other tribe but the Hopi has been demoralized by liquor, the white man's sedative. "The Hopi must develop as Hopi," says a former Commissioner of Indian Affairs—under whose administration the infamous stock reduction program and the drafting of Hopi youth to fight the white man's war took place.

Without the consent or approval of the Hopi, Congress has appropriated $90 million for "Navajo-Hopi rehabilitation." The Hopi strenuously object to their being pictured as starving helpless savages and being used by the Indian Bureau as bait to attract larger appropriations for the benefit of the Bureau. The hereditary leaders condemned the underhanded methods used by the Indian Bureau to engineer the $90 million bill. They sent a delegation to testify before the Senate appropriations committee asking that the word *Hopi* be deleted from the bill as they wanted no part of the money. Their plea was ignored. A reading of the *Congressional Record* makes clear the real reasons which motivated the sponsors of the bill.

HANDPICKED DELEGATES

In handpicking two subservient Hopi, the Indian Bureau revealed its colonial strategy: it does not recognize the hereditary chieftains because the latter as true Hopi are not subservient; the Indian Bureau will recognize only those Indians who are subservient, such as the Navajo Tribal Council. Protesting the bill, the Hopi traditional chiefs also wrote Toby Morris, chairman of the subcommittee on Indian affairs:

> In matters of grave and serious importance, all hereditary chiefs should be consulted and notified. No one village has the authority to accept or approve any project that involves the whole Hopi tribe. There are certain traditional duties and sacred missions placed upon each village.

The two delegates handpicked by the Indian Bureau to speak for the Hopi tribe were from the First Mesa whose inhabitants are not pure Hopi stock but a mixture of other Pueblo tribes, mainly Tewas. Seeking refuge from Spanish aggression two and a half centures ago, these Tewas tribesmen gained permission from the Hopi to live near the First Mesa and were commissioned to guard the other Hopi mesas. In return, the Tewas received instruction in the traditional Hopi ceremonials.

A reading of the *Congressional Record* makes it apparent that the real purpose behind the $20 million appropriation for a highway through Hopiland is not the welfare of the

Hopi, but to attract tourists in order to further undermine the Hopi. The Hopi resents this intrusion into his homeland; the invasion of his privacy by billboards, dudes, hamburger stands and other aspects of a shoddy civilization because they will only hasten the breakdown of his traditional culture.

In testfying before the Senate appropriations committee, Katchongva, chief of the Sun Clan and advisor to the chief of Hotevilla village, asked that the Hopi be exempt from the $90 million fraud; although he said they had no objections to federal appropriations going to the Navajo. This venerable tribal spokesman of the traditional Hopi, whose sincerity and poise humbles the most arrogant lawmaker, stated:

> Our people are a proud people. We have taken good care of ourselves and our lands for thousands of years. We do not need any instruction from the Indian Bureau either in government or farming. If they want any instruction from us, we will give it to them without charge.
>
> With the $90 million the Indian Bureau will build dams on our reservation that will not hold water, and roads for tourists to make it easier for them to come into our homes without being invited. Then the cost of these foolish and troublesome things will be charged against our people and our land. That is what the government has done in the past years.
>
> What we are protesting against is not just a waste of your money. What we are protesting against is a desecration of the national honor of the United States. That national honor is pledged that the Hopi people would be consulted in advance before any plans for spending money on our land were sent to Congress. (See page 130, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*). That promise, which Congress made to us on June 18, 1934, is being violated by the Indian Bureau, in this 90 million dollar bill.
>
> When the United States violates its pledges towards a little nation which has always lived in peace with its White brothers, the light which shines from Washington to all the nations of the world will grow dark and unclean. If that light were made clean, it would shine around the earth and bring peace and understanding to all the nations of the world. If that light grows dirty and dark, the White Man's Civilization will crumble into dust. That is what our wise men have said is the meaning of your atomic bombs.

BILL ENACTED

Despite their strenuous objections, the "Navajo-Hopi" bill was enacted. Once more, the traditional Hopi Chiefs expressed their opposition in a letter to the Indian Bureau, March 2, 1950:

> No, we are not going to sell our birthright for a few pieces of silver such as the $90 million. Our land, our resources, and our birthright are worth more than all the money the government of the United States may have.
>
> How would you like to have someone make laws and plan your life for you from afar? This Navajo-Hopi bill is being passed by the Senate and House of Representatives without our approval and against our will. Therefore whatever happens in the future the Hopi must not be to blame but the government of the United States.

Nothing could be more misleading than the conjunction of the words *Navajo* and *Hopi,* for no two people are further apart in language, cultural tradition, and moral values. The nomadic Navajo migrated from the northern plains shortly before the arrival of the white man. Now numbering about 70,000 and increasing at the rate of over a thousand a year, the Navajo have been steadily encroaching on the ancient homeland of the peaceful, sedentary Hopi, causing the latter great distress and sorrow.

What is today known as the "Hopi Reservation" was created by Executive Order in 1882. The Hopi jurisdition was 3,860 square miles, set aside by President Arthur, for the use and occupancy of the Hopi "and such other Indians as the Secretary of Interior may see fit to settle thereon." The ambiguity of the executive order has been a source of constant friction with the aggressive Navajo, since the land question is major to the Hopi. Their traditional chiefs stated in a letter to the President of the United States, March 28, 1949:

> This land is a sacred home of the Hopi people and all the Indian race on this land. The boundaries of our land were established permanently and was written upon Stone Tablets which are still with us. It was given to the Hopi people the task to guard this land not by force of arms, not by killing, not by confiscating of property of others, but by humble prayers, by obedience to our traditional and religious instructions and by being faithful to our Great Spirit Massau'u.

The Hopi has never signed a treaty with the United States. Consequently, he does not recognize the arbitrary boundaries established by the 1882 executive order. The marauding Navajo signed a peace treaty with the United States in 1868. According to a joint report of the Hopi and Navajo Agency Superintendents to the Indian Bureau, dated October 7, 1943, there were "approximately 2,000 Hopi and several hundred Navajo" living within the boundaries of the newly created Hopi jurisdiction in 1882. The Hopi jurisdiction is surrounded on all sides by the vast "Navajo Reservation." But in 1943 three-fourths of the Hopi Jurisdiction was officially usurped by the Navajo, with the sanction of the Indian Bureau. This collaboration of the Navajo and the Indian Bureau is not a mere accident, the Hopi believes. The Navajo has made a nice adjustment to the white man's world, the white man's standards—and the Oil Companies have been after leases on the Hopi jurisdiction. The tribal chiefs have stated that they will not

> lease any part of our land for oil development at this time. This land is not for leasing or for sale. This is our sacred soil. Any prospecting, drilling and leasing that is being done now is without our knowledge and consent. We will not be held responsible for it.

VILLAGE ORGANIZATION

The Indian Claims Commission Act was enacted August 13, 1946, to "provide an opportunity for the Hopi and other Indian tribes to tell the court their story as to what lands they may have occupied and used which were taken from them without their consent and without payment." And according to the Indian Commissioner, "unless the Hopis present their story they may never again have the opportunity of securing a remedy for any harm that has been done to them."

Six out of eleven villages have rejected a government-sponsored con-

(*Continued on page* 63)

BRANCH COMMITTEE—*Dr. Harry J. Greene (seated third from left), president of Philadelphia, Pa., branch discusses success of committee work with Reba O. Bowie (center), chairman of Car-Give-Away Committee. Others seated left to right: Nellie Holland, Mrs. Louise Jones, Robert Bonner, and Mrs. Mildred Holloway. Standing left to right: Preston King, Mrs. Leila Hill, Mrs. Elizabeth White, Oscar Nickerson, Mrs. Alma Lawson, Mrs. Carrie Alston, Mrs. Glayds Thomas, George Morris, Mrs. Jeanne Martin, Alfred Diggs, Claire Gorgas, Mrs. Catherine Jones, and Mrs. Katie Greene. Committee members not pictured are Mrs. Catherine Smith, Mrs. Kay Richards, Rosa Pitts, Father Thomas Little, and Joseph Davidson.*

PHILADELPHIA BRANCH'S FUND RAISING SUCCESS

A CAR-GIVE-AWAY COMMITTEE of the Philadelphia branch of the NAACP recently staged one of the most successful fund-raising projects in the history of the branch.

Winner of the beautiful 1951 Styleline Chevrolet, which was given as the first prize at the conclusion of the two-month long endeavor, was Ephriam Wolfolk of 3971 Center Avenue, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Other winners were Nathan Butler, 3901 Brown Street, Philadelphia, who held a ticket good for a television set; Art and Ed of 867 N. 40th Street, Philadelphia, who won an electric iron; and John Hankerson, 1008 N. 46th Street, winner of the consolation electric toaster.

Reba O. Bowie served as chairman of the Car-Give-Away Committee. Co-Chairmen of the committee were Mrs. Mildred B. Holloway and Mrs. Louise Jones. Other members were Mrs. Carrie Alston, Robert Bonner, Joe Davidson, Robert Diggs, Mrs. Katie Greene, Mrs. Leila Hill, Mrs. Nellie Holland, Preston King, Mrs. Alma Lawson, Father Thomas Little, Jean Martin, Cecil Moore, George B. Morris, Ascar Nickerson, Rosa Pitts, Mrs. Kay Richardson, Mrs. Catherine Smith, Mrs. Gladys Thomas, Mrs. Elizabeth White, and Mrs. Juanita Williams.

Junior members were Weaver Blondin, William Calhoun, Carol Callaway, Jean and Joan Gaskins, Arminta McGerald, Audrey Martiny, Helene Peterson, Jean Smith, Doris Taylor, and Shirley Wright.

The branch is steadily regaining the confidence of the community, which is reflected in more widespread support of and participation in its affairs.

Credit for this improvement must in a large measure go to the able executive secretary of the branch, H. Vashti Norwood, who assumed her duties just last May, and to the active and militant leadership of Dr. Harry J. Greene, president.

E. Joseph

BRANCH PRESIDENT — *Dr. Dewitt Buckingham, prominent physician and surgeon of Oakland, Calif., was unanimously elected president of the Alameda county, Calif., branch. Dr. Buckingham has long been active in civic affairs in the Bay Area.*

* * *

DID YOU KNOW —

That the Hungarian writer George Mikes devotes two chapters of his *How to Scrape Skies* to the Negro?

He compares American democracy to a very beautiful woman. But her nose it too long and her front teeth are missing—that is, treatment of the Negro constitutes one of her major defects. He also says that Americans are so busy defending the rights of the Hindus in Pakistan, the Pakistani in India, the Italians in Yugoslavia, etc., that they have no time to think about their own Negroes.

YOUTH SINGS—*Sextet which sang at the Birmingham, Ala., state conference of NAACP branches last fall.* BOTTOM: *Program dinner of the Asheville, N. C., branch given to solicit fuller cooperation from the ministers of the local community in NAACP work.*

Editorials

TERROR IN FLORIDA

THE brutal murder of Harry T. Moore on Christmas night at Mims, Florida, was terror pure and simple. Though Moore died in the terrific blast which wrecked one side of his bungalow, his injured wife is given a fifty-fifty chance of recovery.

Mr. Moore was an educated, civic-minded man who should have been the pride of the white community. Fighting directly for his people Moore was always forwarding liberal causes in Florida. As a school principal in Brevard county, he fought for equalization of the salaries of white and Negro teachers. This cost him his job. As executive secretary of the Progressive Voters League of Florida, he fought to secure unrestricted use of the ballot. In 1947 he had called attention to the intolerant forces in Florida which would undermine the principles of American democracy.

And he fought the Mathews' white primary bill (1947) because it would have disfranchised a third of the voting population of Florida.

He had been executive secretary of the Florida state conference of NAACP branches from 1946 to 1951, president of the state conference from 1939 to 1946, and was NAACP state coordinator at the time of his death.

He had helped raise funds to defend the four men in the Groveland "rape" case; and, since the Shepherd-Irvin shooting had campaigned throughout Florida for the indictment of Sheriff McCall for murder.

ALL these are perfectly respectable American activities, and such obvious desert should have earned him the esteem of everyone. But they were an affront to the racially prejudiced and they made Mr. Moore a marked man. So the Negro-haters murdered him! And his death fits into the pattern of terror which has centered around the town of Groveland ever since the alleged rape of a white woman in July, 1949.

First victim was Ernest Thomas, who was shot by a deputized posse soon after the alleged crime. Then attempts were made to lynch Shepherd, Irvin, and Greenlee. When the mob failed to get its victims it burned Negro homes and forced many Negro residents to flee. The National Guard had to be called out to restore order.

Then on November 6 Samuel Shepherd was slain by Sheriff Willis V. McCall while being transported to Tavares for the retrial ordered by the United States Supreme Court. The other defendant, Walter Irvin, was wounded. Yet Circuit Judge T. G. Futch refused to call a grand jury to investigate the shooting, and the coroner's jury exonerated McCall on the ground that he was acting in line of duty. Shepherd's killer still struts the streets of Tavares a free man!

WHAT have the "good" people of Florida done about these acts of terrorism? The answer is nothing. What has Governor Fuller Warren done? Almost nothing. He consults, writes letters on official stationary, and "investigates" or makes "inquiries." What has the federal government done? And the answer is nothing effective despite FBI investigations.

Florida justice becomes a cruel farce and a mockery. For there is evidently in Florida one justice for the white man, and another for the Negro. Every Florida murder and bombing further advertizes to the world that though we preach democracy abroad we cannot practice it at home.

DEBIT AND CREDIT 1951

The American Negro in account with the year 1951:

Debit

Murder of Harry T. Moore at Mims, Florida
Bombing of Negro homes in Dallas, Texas
Killing of John Lester Mitchell in Louisiana
Murder of Samuel Shepherd and wounding of Walter Lee Irvin in Florida
Cicero, Illinois, riot
Governor James Byrnes of South Carolina
Clarendon county, South Carolina, school case decision
Birmingham's, Alabama, segregated blood bank
Appointment of Millard Caldwell, Jr., as federal defense administrator

Credit

Admission of Negroes to the Galveston, Texas, Bar Association
Admission of Negroes to Amarillo, Texas, College by vote of the school board and admission of Negroes to Municipal College at Big Spring, Texas
Annual Stephen Wise award to the NAACP
Presentation of "The Ordering of Moses" at Carnegie Hall
Dropping of racial bars by Pinellas county, Florida, medical society
Fourth annual award of the American Theatre Wing Training Program to Rawn Spearman
Opening of Constitutional Hall to Dorothy Maynor
Quaker condemnation of racial bias
7,749 Bachelors of Art
446 Masters of Art
11 Doctors of Philosophy

THE NAACP is offering a reward of $5,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the murderer or murderers of Harry T. Moore on December 25, 1951. Governor Fuller Warren says that the state of Florida will pay $6,000 for apprehension of the terrorists. The NAACP committee on administration has voted a contribution to the Moore family for the restoration of the home and other expenses. And an appeal has been sent out to 1,000 NAACP branches throughout the country asking for contributions.

Looking and Listening . . .

REMEMBER the denunciation of Japanese "picture brides" some thirty years ago? Today, however, American servicemen stationed in Japan plan to bring in more than 6,000 Japanese brides. Supreme Headquarters of the American Army in Tokyo reports approval of 5,437 applications for U. S. service men to marry Japanese. And so far no roundsmen of white supremacy have come forward to denounce this wedding of East and West.

◆

TWO southern cities, three states apart, seem ready to relax, if only partially, their jim-crow bans on public golf courses. The City Commission in Jacksonville, Florida, has voted to open the city's two municipal golf courses to Negroes on certain days of the week. When Negroes are using the courses, they will be barred to whites. In Portsmouth, Virginia, the city authorities have decided to make the two city courses available to Negroes one day a week. Although the actions of these two cities mark an advance over their previous Negro exclusion policies, it would have been just as easy to throw open the courses to all citizens.

A REPORT comes from Hawaii that that island's non-segregated public school system has been a big factor in Hawaiian racial harmony. Hawaiians, Chinese, Koreans, Japanese, Negroes, Puerto-Ricans, Caucasian-Hawaiians, Asiatic-Hawaiians, and other racial strains all mingle on terms of equality in the schoolroom and get to know each other as individuals rather than as stereotyped creatures from a despised group. Hawaiian children attend the public school in their neighborhood and don't have to worry about going across town to attend a school with "their own kind."

◆

EXPLOITATION of Mexican wetbacks by American agricultural big business was temporarily in the news in November when 100 Mexican farm laborers left Terry Jamison's plantation in Tiptonville, Tennessee. Conditions must have been pretty bad when these people decided to start a 1100-mile hike back to Mexico. They complained that the pay was poor and the food worse. And as often happens, the "law" tried to force them back to work by wholesale arrests. Sheriff

John Yarbrough of Dyer county admitted throwing twenty of Mr. Jamison's Mexicans into jail when they attempted to leave.

Mexican border-jumpers or wetbacks (called "wetbacks" because they supposedly get wet crossing the Rio Grande) are at the mercy of their employers. They get a pittance or no pay at all. They often harvest a crop, but when they ask for their pay are turned over to the immigration authorities as illegal immigrants and shipped back to Mexico. Under the circumstances they are forced to accept whatever the farmer chooses to pay.

A Mexican writer, Luis Spota, once worked as a wetback in the Southwest and then wrote a novel about his experiences. *They Died in the Middle of the River* does not paint a pretty picture. Cruelty, hatred, prejudice, and privation stalk through its pages.

THE *Ilanga Lase Natal* (October 13, 1951) of South Africa reports an intensification of "pass raids" to reduce crime among Africans. "The Rand is the place where police display the greatest activity raiding Africans for Passes and Specials in the day and in the night. It is on the Rand where this form of activity by the police has resulted in many innocent Africans being rounded up and asked for their passes in an effort to get at the real criminals."

Passes deny freedom of movement and severely restrict the Native's personal liberties. Every African over eighteen must carry one. He must carry a travel pass, a night pass, a tax receipt, a work pass, an urban pass, and so to the number of thirteen. Any South African police officer may demand to see an African's pass at any time. Failure to produce one means a fine or imprisonment, but usually imprisonment. Violation of the pass laws is a criminal offence.

THE Union of South Africa refused travel permits to a delegation of South-West Africans to attend the meetings of the Trusteeship Committee of the United Nations General Assembly in Paris. The tribal chiefs had been invited on November 16, 1951, to attend the committee hearings, and funds had been raised to pay the fares for chiefs and headsmen from the Herrero, Nama, and Damara tribes.

Past petitions of the Herreros to UN have charged South Africa with wholesale segregation and exploitation. And as a former League of Nations mandate the Herreros would like for South-West Africa to become UN trust territory. But the Union of South Africa has taken over full administration of South-West Africa and refuses to place it under UN trusteeship.

ONE irony of the Miami, Florida, racial bombings, especially those of November 30 and December 2, is that instead of increasing racial tension they have improved racial and religious relations.

The wave of dynamiting started last September 22 after Negroes began to occupy a portion of a housing development known as Knight Manor. The sixty-seven-unit apartment block called Carver Village was formerly occupied by whites. New owners took over last May and announced that Carver Village would rent to colored. This provoked protests from the whites, but Negroes moved in despite the opposition. Things seemed to have quieted down until the dynamiting on September 22. Then in November and December the terrorists dynamited not only Negro homes, but Jewish synagogues and schools. Mayor Chelsie Senerchia ordered whatever steps necessary to stop the series of bombings.

◆

DANA ADAMS SCHMIDT reports (*The New York Times*, November 22, 1951) from Tel Aviv, Israel, that Indian Jews have been discriminated against by the Israeli because of their color.

"In Bombay, we were told that there is no color bar in Israel," the Indian Jews said, "but in a shop in Beersheba we were told that we should eat only black bread as we were black and the white bread was only for white Jews." The Indian Jews also claimed that they were barred from skilled jobs and that they were refused living quarters in Beersheba near their work, because they were not "white."

After two years in Israel, the Indian Jews plan to return to India.

◆

DESPITE recent French refusal to permit UN discussion of the Moroccan question at Paris it is still a live issue in Morocco and the Muslim World. When the World Muslim Conference met at Karachi, Pakistan, February 9-11, 1951, it appointed a seven-man "Mo'tamar's Morocco Committee' for day to day work until the Moroccan issue is settled to the satisfaction of the Muslim World. Both the Arab League and the World Muslim Conference agitate for Moroccan independence.

What is much more significant is that all Moroccan parties, whether moderate or extremist, now want independence.

French pigheadedness is primarily responsible for this. Up until 1936 the Moroccan Committee for Action had asked only for application of the articles of the Protectorate Treaty. That is, Moroccans did not ask for independence, but for greater participation in their own affairs.

Events approached the crisis stage after a large Moroccan meeting held at Casablanca on November 1, 1936, where French betrayal led to the arrest of Moroccan Committee leaders 'Allal al-Fasi, Lyazidi, and Ouazzani. Mass protest, however, forced the French to release their prisoners. Personal rivalry now broke out among the leaders and a split developed in the Moroccan Committee for Action, which was officially dissolved on March 18, 1937.

Two new organizations now sprang up, the Moroccan National Party and the National Movement. The MNP, an adherent to Islamic tradition, got most of the former members of the Morocco Committee; but they demanded reform within the framework of the Protectorate Treaty rather than independence.

It took the riots at Meknes and Port-Lyautey and the disappointment of the Nationalist Party to swing all Moroccans over to the side of independence. Both MNP and NM party leaders were arrested and exiled after the riots. The National Party was disappointed because the French had refused concessions for NP collaboration with the Allies during the war.

On June 11, 1944, members of the old National Party combined with various youth organizations and other dissident groups to form the Istiqlal or Independence Party. Led by 'Allal al-Fasi, Istiqlal asked for immediate independence. But the French outlawed the party, thus driving it underground, and arrested and exiled 'Allal al-Fasi to Tangier, Morocco. All Moroccans now demand independence with the exception of the pashas, governors of provinces, and the Shaikhs, members of an Islamic rite.

◆

RACIAL incidents seem on the increase in Brazil; that is, if one is to judge by some recent newspaper headlines. *O Dia* (Rio, August 12, 1951) reports that Joviano Severino de Melo was denied use of the auditorium of the Ministry of Education building for a meeting of his Union of Colored Men because its members are colored. The Union of Colored Men and the Cultural Union of Colored Men wanted use of the auditorium to celebrate the anniversary of the *Lei do Ventre Livre* (a Brazilian law of September 28, 1871, which freed the children of slave mothers) and "Black Mother Week."

The man in charge of the auditorium, José Semeao Leal, offered various excuses for not seeing Severino and for refusing rental of the hall. Severino accused him of prejudice and remarked that it seemed the only way a black man could get into the Ministry of Education building was to be included in one of Portinari's murals on the building walls.

A Noticia (Rio) reports refusal of The Sydney Ross Company of Rio to hire Maria Olimpia solely because of her color. Though the company had advertised for girls, it refused to hire Maria despite her qualifications. She had met and passed all tests, including her health examination — but manager Schmidt's excuse was that she had failed to pass her health "exam."

Ultima Hora (Rio, July 20, 1951) reports the Brazilian government's refusal to allow Negro members of the Teatro Folclorico to visit the Festival of Britain in London for fear that the group would give Englishmen the impression that all Brazilians are Negroes. The ban on the trip came from the Brazilian foreign office or Itamarati.

Ultima Hora (November 29, 1951) also reports an incident from Porto Alegre where an Italian barber named Egino Canelli refused to cut a colored man's hair. Canelli said he didn't "wait on Negroes."

Vanguarda (Rio, December 3, 1951) reports that the Portuguese Athletic Association barred a Negro longshoreman, Sebastiao Correa de

(*Continued on page* 62)

Along the N. A. A. C. P. Battlefront

LEGAL

Cicero Officials Indicted: Seven officials and employees of the Township of Cicero, Ill., were indicted on December 13, 1951, by a special federal grand jury for their role in preventing Harvey E. Clark, Jr., and his family from occupying an apartment which they had rented in lily-white Chicago last summer.

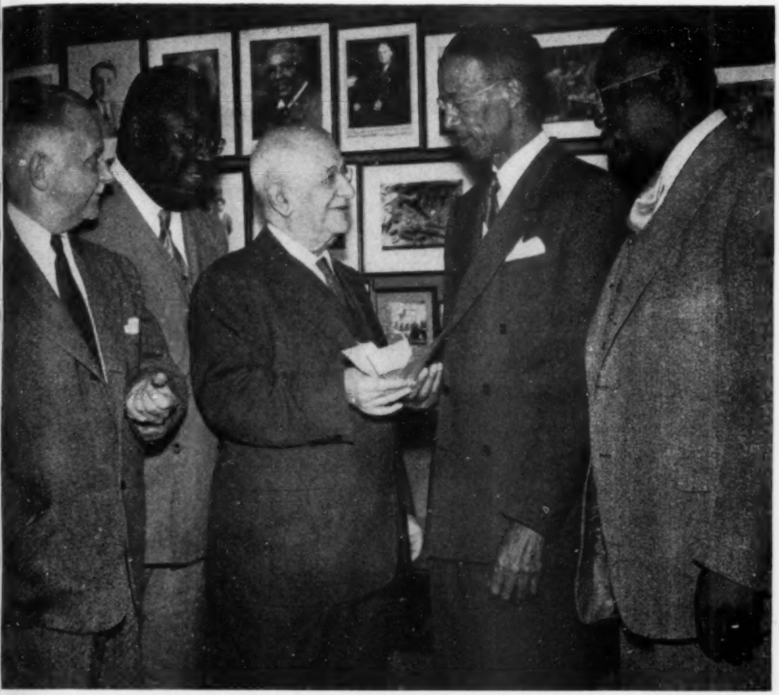
Henry J. Sandusky, president of the Town Council; Erwin Konovsky, chief of police; and Nicholas Berkos, town attorney, were indicated on two counts charging conspiracy to prevent any Negro inhabitants from occupying and owning property in Cicero, and illegal action on their part on June 8, as officers of the law and officials of the township, to deny the Clarks the right to occupy the apartment they had rented. Indicted on the first count with them was Theodore Wesolowski, fire marshal, and on the second count, Police Sergeant Roland Brani and Patrolmen Frank A. Lange and Frank Janicek.

In their first attempt, on June 8, to move into the apartment, Mr. and Mrs. Clark were forcibly turned back by Konovsky and other members of the police force and were warned not to return. When, on July 10, the Clarks again attempted to occupy the apartment, a mob of 6,000 Ciceronians, undeterred by the police, destroyed their personal property and wrecked the 20-apartment building, driving 19 white families out. Order was restored by National Guard units and more than 100 persons were arrested for rioting.

Prior to the July rioting, George Leighton had secured, on June 26, an order from U. S. District Judge John F. Barnes enjoining Konovsky, Sandusky and other Cicero officials "from depriving or attempting to deprive the plaintiffs [the Clarks] of their rights as citizens of the United States as guaranteed by the 14th Amendment." In issuing the order, the judge warned: "You will use the same diligence in protecting this family's right to move into that apartment as you did in keeping them out." On the basis of this order, NAACP attorneys filed contempt charges against the Cicero officials on August 22.

A Cook county grand jury started a probe of the riot. Incredibly, on September 18, the grand jury returned indictments, not against any of the rioters, but rather against Leighton and four others who either aided the Clarks or were in no way connected with the riot. A separate indictment charged Konovsky with misconduct in office.

Stunned by the impact of this unprecedented indictment, Thurgood



CHURCH COOPERATION WITH NAACP—*Arthur B. Spingarn (center), president of the NAACP, happily accepts checks for* $5,000 *from Bishop William Y. Bell of fourth Episcopal district of CME Church. The checks represent contributions to the Association of* $1,000 *from each of the five conferences in Bishop Bell's district. Looking on (L to R) are Walter White, NAACP executive secretary; Rev. L. S. White, minister of the Williams Institutional CME church, New York; and Rev. Preston Porter, minister of the Calvary CME church, Jersey City, New Jersey.*

Marshall hastened to Chicago to join other NAACP lawyers in preparation of Leighton's defense. On September 21, White, Marshall, Ming and Reeves again placed before the Department of Justice the facts in the case, protested against the indictment of Leighton and urged appointment of a special federal grand jury to investigate all aspects of the Cicero case. On October 11, Judge Wilbert T. Crowley of the Cook county criminal court handed down a ruling against the prosecution of Leighton. The case against the other non-rioters was also dropped.

ANNUAL CHRISTMAS GIFT—*John A. Kirby, Jr., presents check for $233, representing an annual contribution to the NAACP from employees of The Times Square Post Office, New York City, to Mrs. Dorothy DeLisser of the national office. Looking on are Rufus Smith (left), NAACP director of fund raising, and Clarence Blanks, also of the New York Post Office.*

The federal grand jury which returned the indictments on December 13 was convened on October 10 on order of Judge Barnes at the request of the criminal division of the Department of Justice following representations made by NAACP officials.

NAACP Attorney Barred: Judge Truman J. Futch of Lake county circuit court barred Thurgood Marshall, special counsel, and Jack Greenberg, assistant special counsel, of the NAACP, on December 6, from defending Walter Irvin, the remaining defendant in the infamous Groveland "rape" case. Judge Futch said that the attorneys could not take part in the case because the NAACP has stirred up trouble in the community.

Alex Akerman, Jr., of Orlando, who represented the defendants for the NAACP in their original trial in 1949, remains as chief defense counsel, assisted by Paul Perkins, also of Orlando.

At the same time, Judge Futch granted defense motions for a change of venue, scheduling Irvin's trial for January 14, in Ocala, in neighboring Marion county. Since Marion and Lake counties are in the same circuit, Jess Hunter will remain as prosecutor in the case. The NAACP will conduct a thorough investigation in Marion county, as it did in Lake, to determine whether the climate of opinion is such that it will permit selection of an unbiased jury, and a fair trial for Irvin.

Irvin, who was shot by Sheriff Willis McCall on a lonely country road on November 6, the eve of the retrial ordered for him by the United States Supreme Court, miraculously escaped the death that was the fate of Samuel Shepherd, his fellow prisoner. Irvin is now at the State Penitentiary at Raiford, where Mr. Perkins reported that he is in good condition but still has a bullet lodged near his kidney.

The convictions of Shepherd and Irvin were unanimously reversed by the nation's highest court last April. At that time, Justice Robert H. Jackson issued an opinion which condemned the press of central Florida for inflaming public opinion against the defendants and making a fair trial impossible. Calling the trial "one of the best examples of one of the worst menaces to American justice," Justice Jackson said that the events surrounding the convictions did not "meet any civilized conception of due process of law."

The case attracted world-wide attention at the time of the reversal, and the general feeling was that there was a better chance for justice to be done after Justice Jackson spotlighted the disgraceful conduct of the trial. In view of this, Sheriff McCall's murder of Shepherd and shooting of Irvin stunned the world and were seen as shocking defiance of the highest tribunal of our land.

The shootings were widely condemned and bitterly denounced in this country and abroad. Soviet foreign minister Andrei Vishinsky seized upon the incident as subject matter for a scathing attack on America at the United Nations General Assembly meeting in Paris.

In response to demands from the NAACP, the Department of Justice is investigating the shootings to determine whether or not there was violation of federal civil rights statutes and whether or not Sheriff McCall is guilty of contempt of the U. S. Supreme Court.

EDUCATION

Tennessee University Case: Argument on two procedural phases of a suit to secure admission of Negro students to the University of Tennessee will be heard by the United States Supreme Court in January.

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MOTHER OF NAACP CHRISTMAS SEAL — *Mrs. Memphis T. Garrison (center) of Gary, W. Va., who inaugurated the NAACP seal campaign in* 1927, *admires the gay* 1951 *red-and-white stickers. Looking on are Rufus Smith (left), NAACP director of fund raising who had charge of the* 1951 *seal campaign, and Mrs. Ida Brown of Institute, W. Va.*

The suit involves the cases of Gene Gray, Lincoln Blakeney, Joseph Patterson and Jack Alexander whose applications for admission to the law and graduate schools of the university were rejected by university authorities solely on racial grounds.

Following rejection of their application, the NAACP filed suit on their behalf in the federal court seeking to enjoin enforcement of the state's segregation statute on the basis of which the applications had been turned down. In April, 1950, a three-judge federal court disavowed jurisdiction on the grounds that the segregation laws were constitutional, and ordered the case to proceed before U. S. district Judge Robert Taylor.

Although Judge Taylor ruled that the university acted illegally in refusing to accept the complainants, he failed to order their admission, whereupon NAACP attorneys filed a direct appeal in the United States Supreme Court. Faced with the possibility that the dissolution of the three-judge court might not be considered an appealable judgment, the NAACP lawyers filed as an alternative remedy a petition for a writ of mandamus in the Supreme Court for an order requiring the three-judge court to re-convene and render a decision on the merits of the case.

On December 3, 1951, the Supreme Court agreed to hear argument on the petition for a writ of mandamus. Previously, on October 15, 1951, the court had ordered argument on the appeal phase of the case.

CONTRIBUTIONS

CME Church: A contribution of $5,000 was received in December by the Association from Bishop William Y. Bell, representing the fourth Episcopal district of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church.

In response to a decision voted by eight bishops of the CME Church at a general board meeting in May, Bishop Bell's district, composed of five conferences covering Ohio, North Carolina, South Carolina, District of Columbia-Virginia, and the Middle Atlantic states and New England, raised $1,000 for the NAACP in each of its conferences. Bishop Bell conveyed the hope of the CME board that each of the church's forty-two conferences will present $1,000 to the Association.

The efforts in Bishop Bell's district were spearheaded by the young people in the churches. Reverend R. O. Bass of Columbia, S. C., director of youth activities, arranged for the holding of an NAACP day in all CME churches in the district.

Grateful Seamen: A grateful seaman whose complaint of discrimination precipitated a successful campaign by the Association to end the discriminatory hiring practices of the Seafarers International Union presented a contribution of fifty dollars to the NAACP in December.

More than four years ago, members of the AFL union filed complaints with the N. Y. State Commission Against Discrimination, but no action was taken until Grover Barnes of New York requested the NAACP to intervene in May, 1951. The Association informed the union and SCAD that it intended to file suit on behalf of Mr. Barnes, who had been assigned to a segregated unit and denied free employment opportunity.

With the NAACP intervening, the union hastily made an agreement with SCAD, stating that applications for membership, work permits, job referrals and transfers, would be acted upon without regard to race, creed, color, or national origin. The policy of dividing ships into "white" and "colored" classifications for the steward's department was discontinued.

* * *

What the Branches Are Doing

California: The regional office of the NAACP and the American Civil Liberties Union for northern California have offered a reward of $500 for information leading to the arrest, conviction, and final imprisonment of the person or persons who set fire to the dwelling at 3336 Winkle Avenue, Santa Cruz, on November 3, 1951.

The Santa Cruz house was burnt by someone after it became known that the Rev. W. M. Brent, a Negro, had purchased the property and was planning to move in. According to at least one neighbor, there will be attempts to burn the house again if Rev. Brent attempts to move in. Owen Kessel, investigator for the Department of Justice in California, says the burning was clearly an act of arson.

On November 1, 1951, C. L. Dellums, president of the ALAMEDA COUNTY branch, wrote a letter to the California Public Utilities Commission urging the Commission to deny the Key System Transit Lines permission to curtail service on certain bus routes in Oakland. The request was based upon alleged manpower shortage, but Mr. Dellum points out that this is not true since that there are hundreds of qualified Negro drivers the bus company could hire were it to discontinue its discriminatory hiring policies.

Regional director Franklin H. Williams recently visited branches in the southwest, talking with NAACP leaders in Phoenix, Flagstaff, Winslow, Tucson, and Yuma, Arizona; and in El Centro, Imperial, Indio, Palm Springs, Riverside, San Bernardino, Pasadena, and Santa Monica, California.

Mr. Williams commented after his trip on the increased interest he found in the civil-rights fight. Branches in the areas visited have all instituted active programs designed to eliminate the remaining vestiges of segregation and discrimination in their communities.

The southwestern area conference, which includes all branches in Arizona, is underwriting the federal-court lawsuit challenging the constitutionality of the permissive school segregation statutes in the State of Arizona. The RIVERSIDE branch has voted to appeal the case of Lawrence "Bucky" Walker, the Negro Air Force sergeant unjustly convicted of murder in Riverside county.

The LOS ANGELES branch has filed suit in the municipal court challenging the vicious pattern of racial segregation on Southern Pacific Railway Lines which limits Negro passengers who travel east and west of Los Angeles to one coach, with inferior facilities.

Louisiana: Officials of the Louisiana State Board of Education have been asked by the NEW ORLEANS branch, through its Attorney A. P. Tureaud, to abolish segregation in the city's Negro public schools. Fourteen specific acts of discrimination were listed against the board. The board, however, turned down the petition on the ground that "integration of Negro pupils into white schools would be a violation of the state

GIFT TO NAACP—*Mrs. Ruby Hurley (left), southeast regional coordinator, presents* $200 *check from Alabama branches to Walter White at state NAACP meeting in Birmingham. Seated (L to R) are E. M. Martin of Atlanta, Ga., and Atty. Arthur D. Shores of Birmingham, Ala.*

constitution." Attorney Tureaud says that if the board refuses to act, he will go to court and claim that racial segregation in the schools is a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the U. S. Constitution.

One hundred and thirty-one new members were solicited for the NATCHITOCHES branch from one local community. Edward Conant of Cane River suggested in November that his rural area would be canvassed for members by the following team groups: Luverson Davis, Vallery Williams, Mrs. Doris LaCour, Mrs. Willie Mae Pierson, Edward Conant, Nolan Jones, Terrell Delphin, Vincent LaCour, Larry Balthazar, Felix LaCour, Earl A. Reque, Pete Jones, Carrell Balthazer, L. E. Janes, Jr., Edward Metoyer, Lewis LaCour, Foster Payne, Henry Curry, Manuel Cendee, Joseph Wilson, and L. C. Wilson. Earl A. Reque and Manuel Cendee reported the largest number of memberships.

This community, Cane River, made its first report September 9. They worked also throughout November.

Michigan: Annual election of the DETROIT branch were held in December, with Dr. Arthur Thompson serving as chairman of the nominating committee.

P. L. Prattis, executive editor of the *Pittsburgh Courier,* was a recent speaker before the branch. He emphasized the need for the Negro to fight unrelentingly for his rights and called attention to the harmful influence of the Communists on the Negro community.

New York: Among the resolutions adopted by the New York state CONFERENCE OF NAACP branches are the following: Condemnation of the attacks upon Dr. Channing Tobias and Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois; that branches participate in the raising of funds for NAACP legal work; and that steps be taken to alleviate the housing shortage for low-income groups.

The New York City branch honored Ted Poston, star reporter of the New York *Post,* in December by presenting him with a plaque "for journalist achievement in the service of true democracy." The presentation was made at a mass meeting.

In response to the presentation, made by Dr. C. B. Powell, publisher of the New York *Amsterdam News,* Mr. Poston praised the work of the NAACP in battering down the barriers of segregation and discrimination. Also speaking was Walter White, NAACP executive secretary, who recalled the valiant work Mr. Poston had done in reporting the Groveland, Fla. case, the Cicero riot, and the Josephine Baker-Stork Club case. "Ted Poston," he said, " is a crusading newspaperman in the great tradition of Lincoln Steffens and Heywood Broun."

Other speakers included Dr. Marguerite Cartwright, who, on the basis of a recent trip to Europe, reported on reactions abroad to the Negro and to race relations in this country; Lindsay White, president of the branch; and Judge Hubert Delany, member of the national board of directors, who presided.

The FLUSHING branch organized a mass meeting on December 7 to protest the killing of Samuel Shepherd and the wounding of Walter Irvin in Lake county, Florida. Speakers were branch president Rosalie King, Dr. Partridge of Queens College, Dr. Strauss, also of Queens College, and Rev. Carrington of the Jamaica branch. Queen college student speakers included Vernon Griffith, Louise Scott, and Juanita Green.

Oregon: Otto G. Rutherford has been elected president of the PORTLAND branch. Mr. Rutherford is a prominent citizen and civic worker of Portland. Other elected officers are Mrs. Frances Williams, first vice-president; Mrs. W. H. Marple, second vice-president; Mrs. Otto Rutherford, secretary; and Jason Dancey, treasurer.

Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania CONFERENCE of the NAACP joined eighteen civil liberties, church, and labor groups on December 11 in the state capital, Harrisburg, to oppose the Pechan bill, the so-called Pennsylvania loyalty act.

Opposition to the bill, which called for a "loyalty oath" from school teachers and public employees, was expressed by state President Dr. B. K. Johnson of Johnstown, Pa.

Dr. Johnson said the measure would, in effect, set up the machinery for an inquisition into the attitudes and associations of loyal Americans. He said it would allow a biased official to use a smear campaign to discharge any employee without furnishing proof of guilt.

In the November 6 general election, the Pennsylvania NAACP supported the successful campaign for consolidation of the public offices of the city and county of Philadelphia, whose functions have long overlapped.

The states executive board in December approved plans for a "Pennsylvania NAACP Caravan" to tour the state. It featured an entertainment program and a talk by John W. Flamer, assistant field secretary of the NAACP.

Projects for the coming year include a survey of the state's penal institutions, especially those for juveniles, and a survey of new job opportunities for Negroes.

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WILLKIE HOUSE

WILLKIE HOUSE—*"We must create a world in which there shall be an equality of opportunity for every race and every nation," reads the plaque honoring Wendell Willkie in the lobby of "Willkie House", a recently completed community service building in Des Moines, Iowa.*

In 1945 *when the Gardner Cowles Foundation made a gift of* $125,000 *to the Negro Community Center to erect a building, it was suggested by the donors that a plaque in honor of Wendell Willkie be placed in the building. The Community Center Board went further and decided to name the building "Wilkie House."*

When the original gift was made, the amount was considered adequate, but building restrictions prevented construction. By the time the restrictions were lifted, costs had increased to such an extent that it was necessary for the board to raise additional funds.

The generous response from other donors-firms and individuals demonstrated the wide community interest in true racial understanding and cooperation for Willkie House. During its 34 *years of service, which began in* 1917 *as War Recreation Board for Negro service men, then located in Des Moines, and later developed successively into Colored Community service Center, War Camp Community Service, Community Service of Des Moines, Negro Community Center, and finally, Willkie House.*

College and School News

John F. Matheus, head of the romance language department of West Virginia State College, was given the achievement award by Tau chapter of Kappa Alpha Psi fraternity in November. Professor Matheus received the award in recognition of his achievements as scholar, poet, short story writer, playwright, librettist, and teacher.

■

Cornerstone of the Abby Aldrich Rockefeller Hall at Spelman College was laid on December 2, following dedication services held in Sisters chapel. The new building, a dormitory for upperclassmen, is located between Giles Hall (formerly the high school) and Morehouse North (a student dormitory) and was made possible by a gift of $500,000 from John D. Rockefeller, Jr., in memory of his late wife, Abby Aldrich Rockefeller, who died on April 5, 1948. This building is the fifth on the Spelman campus to be named for a member of the Rockefeller family.

Others are Rockefeller Hall, the administration building, erected in 1884; Bessie Strong Hall, named in honor of a sister of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., erected in 1917 and now a dormitory; Laura Spelman Rockefeller Memorial Building, completed in 1918; and Sisters Chapel, dedicated in May, 1927, by Mr. Rockefeller in honor of his mother and aunt, the Spelman sisters.

The recently completed Health and Recreation Building at Spelman

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was dedicated on December 6, with representatives of many colleges and universities in attendance.

■

Rev. William R. Strassner was inaugurated as SHAW UNIVERSITY's sixth president on November 16, which was also 86th founder's day. Representatives from fifty-two colleges and universities, fifteen learned societies, and other educational organizations attended the induction.

Commendations were given by three former presidents of Shaw, Dr. Joseph L. Peacock (1920-1931) who said: "I recall with great pleasure the eleven years I spent at Shaw university." Dr. W. S. Nelson (1931-1936) said: "The genius of a private institution of learning is to teach the truth, speak the truth without any fear of coercion." Dr. R. P. Daniel (1936-1950) turned to the new president with the words: "This is a great day, *your* day."

Presentation of the president-elect was made by Dr. C. C. Spaulding, chairman of the executive committee of the Shaw board of trustees. The induction was made by the Rev. Edwin McNeill Poteat, vice-chairman of the board of trustees; and the prayer of consecration was given by Rev. J. Roy Clifford, pastor of the First Baptist church, Lexington, N. C.

The charter of Shaw university was handed to President Strassner by the Rev. Edwin McNeil Poteat. Dr. L. E. McCauley, secretary of the board of trustees, presented President Strassner with the seal of the university.

President Strassner is a graduate

of Arkansas Baptist college, in his native state; holds a divinity degree from Virginia Union University; and a master of sacred theology degree from Andover Newton Theological Institute.

Nine Shaw students have been selected by "Who's Who in American Colleges and Universities" for listing during the current school year. Five are seniors and four are juniors, and are as follows: Thomas Dunn (second inclusion), Jean Barnes, Leroy Coleman, Dorothy May Haith, and Wilbert Nixon, all seniors; the juniors are Shirley Shannon, Gloria Kershaw, Oliver Lancaster, and Annie Lee Shaw. Selection for inclusion in this college Who's Who is based upon scholarship, leadership, and cooperation in student activities.

■

Charles Eastwood, lecturer in psychology at DILLARD UNIVERSITY, was speaker at the annual meeting of the American Counseling and Guidance Association held at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Mr. Eastwood represented the southern region of the ACGA and lectured on the counseling of the psychoneurotic.

Professor Julius Miller, professor of physics and mathematics at Dillard, has recently received a sculptured head of Dr. Albert Einstein. Professor Miller is a personal acquaintance of Dr. Einstein and has quite a collection of Einstein mementoes.

President Albert Dent attended the first meeting of the newly created Commission on Financing of Hospital Care held in Washington, D.C.

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The Dillard lyceum committee presented the University Choir, accompanied by members of the New Orleans symphony and opera orchestras, in a performance of Handel's "The Messiah," on December 16. The following student soloists were featured: Lindburgh Smith and James Johnson, tenors; Roy Petty, bass; and Gloria Delandre, Mamie Taylor, and Gwendolyn Williams, sopranos. Contralto Lois Bashful, of the class of '51, was guest soloists.

■

KENTUCKY STATE COLLEGE was represented at the annual conference of the Southern College Personnel Association by Archie Surratt and Mrs. Ann Heartwell, dean of men and students respectively.

James O'Rourke, college librarian, addressed the faculty and student body of Mayo-Underwood high school, Frankfort, Ky., November 12 on "New Horizons With Books."

■

Seven LINCOLN UNIVERSITY (Mo.) faculty members are listed in the second edition of the recently published *Directory of American Scholars.* The directory, sponsored by the Council of Learned Societies, lists Dr. Oliver C. Cox, professor of sociology; Dr. Lorenzo J. Greene, professor of history; Dr. Richard Minor, head of the department of sociology; Dr. Thomas Pawley, Jr., associate professor of English; Dr. Armistead Pride, dean of the school of journalism; Scovel Richardson, dean of the law school; and Dr. Sherman Savage, chairman of the department of history and government.

Among recent speakers at Lincoln have been Dr. Robert Hartman, associate professor of philosophy at Ohio State University, who was first speaker in the university lecture-recital series; and Dr. Gordon Hullfish, professor of education at Ohio State, who was principal speaker during the observance of American Education Week.

A professor and a senior journalism student represented the university at the Missouri-Kansas regional meeting of the United States National Student Association held in Pittsburgh, Kansas. Dr. Alfred Farrell, associate professor of English, addressed the meeting on the topic, "A Faculty Observer Looks at N. S. A." Leon Davis, the student, participated in workshops and discussion groups.

■

WILBERFORCE UNIVERSITY's president Dr. Charles Hill has just published a book on philosophy entitled *A Short History of Philosophy from the Renaissance to Hegel.* The book is designed primarily as a text and reference book for courses in philosophy.

Two Wilberforce alumni are now pursuing graduate work at Harvard and Marquette universities respectively. Both are Africans. Benjamin Andoh is at Harvard; Seth Obeng, at Marquette.

■

Robert Barnett, executive director of the AMERICAN FOUNDATION FOR THE BLIND, announces the initiation of a nation-wide study of the education of the Negro blind.

The study will be directed by Dr. P. C. Potts, educational consultant of the Foundation. The survey will be primarily concerned with the fifteen segregated schools or departments for the Negro blind in the southern states, although students in non-segregated schools will be considered.

■

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The NEGRO PATRONS COMMITTEE of Clarendon county, S. C., has filed a petition with the county superintendent and the local school board asking immediate consideration of such items as bus transportation, drinking fountains, and other items. The petition affects schools in Clarendon county district 2.

■

Annual BENNETT COLLEGE Christmas choir concert was given in Pfeiffer chapel on December 16, featuring Frances Carr, Thomasina Martin, Erma Rhea, Melvina Lyons, Grathea Taylor, and Cornelia King as soloists.

The program was divided into three parts: the first being highlighted by "Hodie, Christus Natus Est," by Sweelinck; the second, by selections from "The Messiah"; and the third, by folk carols from various countries.

President David D. Jones and N. A. Calhoun, prominent Greensboro citizen, appealed to interested people concerned with the upkeep of Bennett to make their contributions to the Bennett college quarter century fund drive which ended in December.

One of the ace free-lance photographers in the spot news and feature reporting field, Ed. Feinkersh, visited Bennett college campus December 9-11 to shoot over 700 pictures of life on the campus.

Veteran of some of the top assignments from such magazines as *Life, Look, McCalls, Ladies Home Journal* and *Coronet,* Feinkersh was under Christmas trees, on tops of tables, and generally in and around all activity on the Bennett campus during his three day stay. Concentrating on the "natural every-day" expression of the Bennett girl, Feinkersh has recorded through his candid camera-eye scenes in the dining room, the dormitories, the classooms and taken pictures of the religious activities as well as the social.

■

VIRGINIA STATE COLLEGE's little symphony orchestra presented its first

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campus concert on December 2. Guest soloist was Bernard L. Mason, concert violinist and director of instrumental music at Howard university.

The VSC little symphony orchestra is essentially a community group, including Virginia State students and faculty members, Petersburg and Richmond citizens, and people from other parts of the state.

VSC was host in November to the one-day conference of Leadership and Community Organizations. Sponsored jointly by the college and the Virginia Teachers Association, participants included teachers, principals, and many laymen. Chief consultants were Jean and Jess Ogden of the extension division of the University of Virginia.

◆

The board of education of Cumberland county, N. C., has named

Bill Belche

MRS. BEATRICE WIIILIAMS *of Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa, received her B. A. in elementary education from Fayetteville State Teachers College in December. Mrs. Williams plans to return to her classroom in Monrovia.*

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one of its new schools the "J. W. Seabrook School" in honor of Dr. James W. Seabrook, president of the Fayetteville State Teachers College.

Mrs. Beatrice Williams of Monrovia, Liberia, West Africa, completed her work for the bachelor's degree in elementary education at FSTC. Mrs. Williams, a former teacher at the College of West Africa, has been studying the fundamentals of American education with the idea of applying them to the public school system of her own country.

■

The Metropolitan Music School of 18 West 74th Street, New York City, has been the recipient of three full musical scholarships from the well-known pianists Lucy Brown, Leonid Hambro, and Ray Lev.

■

The Southern Patriot reports that Chancellor House of the University of North Carolina has yielded to student demand and issued regular student athletic books to the four UNC Negro law students.

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Book Reviews

KREMLIN GREMLINS

***Communism Versus the Negro*. By William A. Nolan. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1951. XVII + 276pp. $3.50.**

The American Communist party has been proselytizing American Negroes for thirty-two years. Yet they never corralled enough Negroes to fill an antechamber of the Kremlin. Here we have America's most oppressed group on the one hand and their would be saviors on the other. And the Communist program was a plausible one, since it promised equality. Still Communists efforts have been a colossal failure. The reasons for this failure constitute the theme of Dr. Nolan's book.

Many of the reasons are obvious. It was evident to Negroes that a foreign ideology, propounded mainly by people they regarded as declassed, could hold out no hopes of racial salvation.

Negroes believed that a Soviet America, if one ever came to pass, would be run by white commissars. They saw through the "Black Belt" scheme as mere hokum, since it meant more segregation. They soon learned that the Scottsboro defense was nothing but a worldwide anti-American propaganda device and that freeing the boys was the least of Communist worries. They noted that American Communists talked about a united front in favor of Ethiopia while Russia was busy selling war *matériel* to Italy. They noticed that World War II was just another imperialist war until the German Army attacked the USSR. They remarked Communist opposition to the Negro's agitation for his rights once Russia got into the war. In a word, Negroes noted all the lies, feints, and tricks of this infamous pack of hypocritical scoundrels. And being the most American of Americans they would have none of Communist doctrine.

It was Communist ignorance of Negro psychology and history that defeated them. The American Negro is not a revolutionary. He is an old-line American whose roots go back to the founding of the country. He wants to be "counted-in" not out; and he has no desire to destroy a system from which he has benefited, and from which he believes he will derive even greater boons when he is accorded full equality. Yet the Communists ignored these facts.

The Negro masses have always been "leery" of poor whites bearing them gifts. And most Communist missionaries were po' whites in their eyes. The Negroes are very religious. God and the church still come first in their *Weltanschauung,* or group philosophy, and an atheistic foreign screed leaves them cold, when it does not arouse their hostility. A few Negro intellectuals either joined up or became red fellow travellers, but most of these were obscure people never heard of until local Commisars flushed them out. Communist fronts were likewise failures, for the red-fist soon became evident in the "democratic" glove. Nor have their "boring from within" tactics advanced their cause. Several attempts have been made to capture the NAACP but an alert membership and staff blocked that.

As long as American Negroes place their hope in the American creed and not the Soviet screed, the Communists will have no success among Negroes. But American whites must work harder to implement American democracy for its minority groups. Dr. Nolan's *Communism Versus the Negro,* along with Wilson Record's *The Negro and the Communist Party,* is recommended reading for every American.

***Memoirs of A Monticello Slave*: As dictated to Charles Campbell in the 1840's by Isaac, one of Thomas Jefferson's Slaves. Edited by Rayford W. Logan. Charlottesville, Virginia: Published by the University of Virginia Press for The Tracy McGregor Library, 1951. 45pp. $3.00.**

It's not often that posterity gets a chance to read a slave's reminiscences about his master, especially one as great as Thomas Jefferson. Isaac's *Memoirs* is in no sense a biography. In fact, the little book is so thin that even with ample page margins it hardly exceeds 4,000 words. What Isaac pictures is the outside of Jefferson, a few idiosyncrasies of character and those manifest incidents that could be observed by a slave. He could never paint his master's hopes and deeds with the same bold strokes of Jefferson's peers and contemporaries.

Isaac tells us how Giovanni, an Italian tailor, used to make his master's clothes; that Jefferson liked to drive fast; always sang when he went out riding or walking; was never seen drunk; never went into the kitchen, except to wind the clock; was never seen around the house before breakfast; talked French and Italian; never allowed anyone in his workroom while working; and that Patrick Henry used to visit him often.

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Dr. Logan, the editor, tells how these *Memoirs* came to be written:

"Isaac Jefferson, son of Great George and Ursula, was born at Monticello in December, 1775. [He died in 1847]. His earliest reminiscences date from the days of Thomas Jefferson's governorship and the British capture of Richmond in 1781. Taken to Yorktown by the British, Isaac apparently lived at Monticello after his release at the end of the Revolutionary War. He accompanied Jefferson to Philadelphia in 1790, returned to Monticello for about nine years, and then lived for more than twenty-five years with Jefferson's son-in-law, Thomas Mann Randolph. He helped nurse the ex-president in his old age. The last years of Isaac Jefferson's life were spent in Petersburg, where Charles Campbell came to know him and to record these reminiscences. . . .

"The reminiscences are confined to what Isaac saw and heard. They recount the simple events which even an illiterate slave, possessed of normal sight and hearing at the time of the events, could intelligently observe. Isaac Jefferson was obviously not mistreated by his masters. He did not, however, indulge in nostalgia about the 'good old days'."

Isaac's amanuensis Charles Campbell was "a scholar of considerable note" and a lineal descendant of Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia.

***Race Relations:* The Interaction of Ethnic and Racial Groups. By Brewton Berry, Ph. D. (Edin.). Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1951. XII + 473pp. $4.75.**

There is a plethora of literature on race and group contacts but very little of it has been brought together within the confines of one book. Dr. Berry now organizes and integrates part of it, or at least those parts most relevant to American college students. Although he ranges the planet, he still sticks pretty close to the domestic scene. And the American Negro gets more extended treatment than any other minority group.

His assumption is that the race problem is broader than the problem of Negro-white relations, and that it is not peculiar to the United States. He believes in a world-wide view of these problems, that they involve more than strictly racial groups, and that they should not be limited to the contemporaneous.

Though the treatment is sociological —in terms of conflict, accomodation, assimilation, and stratification—it adds nothing to our understanding of racial problems and conflicts. And the book is scientific only in the sense that the author strives for a maximum of objectivity. There are three parts to the book: roots of the problem, processes of group interaction, and group reactions. A minor flaw is the author's failure to emphasize the fact that contemporary racial problems are intensified by organized exploitation of racial antagonisms and that these antagonisms are usually grounded upon definite political doctrines. Nor is there much mention of the fact that the world was not race conscious prior to the 16th century, and that color as a definite criterium of racial inferiority and distinction came in with the African slave trade and European expansion into the colored world.

***Research Methods in Social Relations:* With Especial Reference to Prejudice. Part I: Basic Processes. Part II: Selected Techniques. By Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook. New York: The Dryden Press, 1951. Vol. I: X + 421pp. Vol. II: X + 759pp. $3.75 each volume. $6.00 a set.**

These two volumes are intended for professional students of group relations: for those who will conduct social research and for those who will use its results. Both parts may be used as textbooks in research methods. They are published for The Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues

Because group prejudices present one of the major problems of our times, the authors have chosen most of their illustrative materials from the area of prejudice.

Among the problems dealt with in Part I are the research process, problems of measurement, observational methods, analysis and interpretation of data, research theory. Three appendixes are devoted to practical problems, discrimination and prejudice, and notes on framework for measuring discrimination and prejudice.

Part II deals with some specific methodological problems, construction of questionnaires and interview schedules, the art of interviewing, field-work methods, analysis of data, and the panel as a research tool.

Both volumes have comprehensive bibliographies. The book is well organized and offers valuable information and suggestions for social researchers as well as the intelligent reader.

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LOOKING & LISTENING

(*Continued from page* 39)

Oliveira, from one of its dances because he was black. Correa, an invited guest, had attended previous social affairs of the Association.

Jornal de Letras (August, 1951) devoted a short symposium to race prejudice and the Afonso Arinos law against racial discrimination. Six well-known Brazilian Negro writers participated: Guerreiro Ramos believes Brazil has turned aside from the Negro advancement program of Joaquim Nabuco; Romao da Silva admits the law is "a tacit admission of color prejudice in Brazil"; Raimundo Sousa Dantas doesn't expect the law to abolish race prejudice over night; Assis Republicano says the law has some value; Abdias Nascimento feels the law will help Negroes to raise their cultural status; and Saltino Veiga dos Santos also thinks the law an official admission of color prejudice in Brazil.

RADICAL & RIGHT

(*Continued from page* 4)

causes. The Rochester branch of the NAACP met regularly in her home; as in her former years she had been proud to have Douglass, Booker T. Washington and other leaders of their race as house guests, she continued to welcome Roland Hayes, Paul Robeson, James Weldon Johnson, Walter White and others whenever they visited Rochester.

In 1938, when she was 84, the Rotary Club of Rochester gave its third annual Civic Achievement Award to her for "her contribution to the progress and development of Rochester," mentioning her championship of woman suffrage, pacifism and Negro rights and calling her "a mighty amount of glorious humanity in a small package." Three years later the University of Rochester conferred on her the honorary degree of Master of Humane Letters. On her ninetieth birthday, in 1944, she told a reporter for a Rochester newspaper that she was retiring from active crusading "unless something new, radical and right comes along."

But her interest in the NAACP

remains strong to this day, in her ninety-eighth year. Last November Mrs. Gannett took out a $500 life membership in the Association.

Ninety-eight-year-old Mrs. Mary Gannett is mother of Lewis Gannett, writer and member of the NAACP board of directors.

◆

PREDATORY WHITE MAN

(*Continued from page* 30)

tract to retain a former government attorney to press claims of the Hopi tribe against the United States as authorized by the Claims Act. The expiration date for the filing of claims was August 13, 1951. The contract provided for an exclusive ten-year tenure for the tribal attorney, who explained that the terms of the contract had been previously approved by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

The Hopi villages are autonomous; there is no tribal government. This fact accounts for the survival of the obdurate Hopi nation and their traditions in face of persistent efforts to subjugate them. The contract provided for the signatures of two delegates selected from each of eleven villages to enter into and execute the contract with the attorney on behalf of the Hopi Indians. The attorney explained that any judgment the courts may give to the Hopi would not be in land; it would be in money. But the land is sacred to the Hopi. He does not want money.

Opposition to the Claims Act came from tradiitonal tribal leaders. They said that the Hopi will not accept a few pieces of silver as bribe in exchange for their land, their sovereignty, and their traditional lifeway. With the sanction of the Indian Bureau, three-fourths of the Hopi jurisdiction has been usurped by the Navajo. Recalling this fact, the Hopi look upon the Indian Claims Commission Act as another device of the white man to take away land that has always been his.

STOCK REDUCTION

The Hopi did not acquiesce in the enormous stock reduction program of the Collier regime, which forced all of the Hopi livestock that was formerly in the entire Hopi jurisdiction into District Six, one-fourth of the former area. Their herds were then reduced on the basis of the range capacity of District Six. Previous to its stock reduction program, the Indian Bureau had encouraged the Hopi to increase their herds. The Hopi would not accept money for the sheep, cattle, and horses that were thus confiscated.

Many are the government-issue checks given in payment to the Hopi that remain unendorsed, mute testimony to the government's outrage. And today the Indian Agent issues a license to the traditional village chief permitting him to graze three head of horses There are few sheep in Hopiland today, and many Hopi as a result have been forced off the "Reservation" to find white man's work in towns. This is an aspect of the Indian Bureau's "assimilation" program. Dalahaftewa of Shungopovi village, chief of the Bear Clan, highest hereditary leader in the Hopi tradition, wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs on April 8, 1930:

> Our Chiefs and fathers tell us that we were the first Americans that ever established and made this place our permanent home with the view of living our lives in our own way. . . . But, intrusion of the Navajos, coupled with the lack of justice and better understanding on the part of our white brothers account for the fact that our boundary lines have never been acknowledged or recognized by the United States government. As a result, our land has been diminished and reduced in size to what is now called our reservation. Much to our deep regret and the frightful loss of the land we love, that confiscated area of land has officially been set aside as a 'Navajo Reservation' and a public land.

"The federal government cannot give self-government to any Indian tribe . . . all it can do is get out of the way," asserts Felix Cohen. The attitude of unquestioned superiority of the white man's authority is exemplified by Congressman Harold Patten who in a statement to the press, January 5, 1950, expressed doubt "that a protest by two *Indian boys* against a bill authorizing federal aid for the tribe had the sanction of tribal authorities . . . undoubtedly made by members of the tribe trying to usurp tribal council authority." A letter to Patten from traditional tribal chiefs explained:

> We are not boys. . . . We are hereditary tribal leaders who are carrying out the Hopi traditional form of government. Our traditional and religious teachings are not legends but truths and facts. . . . We older men, the hereditary leaders, never accepted the tribal council idea. And we will never accept it for we already have our own self-government which we have been following long before any White Man came to us.

YOUNGER HOPIS

If Patten really wants to help the Hopi people he should see that Hopi is taken out of the "Navajo-Hopi" bill, the traditional leaders stated. The younger Hopi who have accepted the tribal council idea against their wishes and consent have abandoned the traditional path and do not represent the Hopi.

Here are a people who do not live by the white man's rule of money. Here are people whose lives are rooted deeply in a religious explanation of their origin. Here are people with *roots* that go down to their very orgin as a tribe, a people of great simplicity and humbleness; this is their wisdom and their greatness. Writing to the President of the United States, they remark:

> We speak as the first people of this land you call America. And we speak to you as white man, the last people who came to our shores seeking freedom of worship, speech, assembly and a right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. And we are speaking to all the American Indian People.
>
> Now we cannot understand why since its establishment the government of the United States has taken over everything we owned either by force, bribery, trickery, and sometimes by reckless killing, making himself very rich, and after all these years of neglect of the American Indians, have the courage today in announcing to the world a plan which will convert the country's 400,000 Indians into 'full, tax-paying citizens under state jurisdiction.'
>
> Are you ever going to be satisfied with all the wealth you have now be-

cause of us, the Indians? There is something terribly wrong with your system of government because after all these years, we the Indians are still licking on the bones and crumbs that fall to us from your tables. Have you forgotten the meaning of Thanksgiving Day?

We have met all other rich and powerful nations who have come to our shores, from the early Spanish Conquistadores down to the present government of the United States all of whom have used force in trying to wipe out our existence here in our own home. We want to come to our destiny in our own way. We have no enemy.

We will neither show our bows and arrows to anyone at this time. This is our only way to everlasting life and happiness. Our tradition and religious training forbid us to harm, kill and molest anyone. We, therefore, object to our boys being forced to be trained for war to become murderers and destroyers. What nation who has taken up arms ever brought peace and happiness to his people?

PROTEST DRAFT

Within the last two years, the Hopi traditional chiefs have sent five letters to the President of the United States protesting the drafting of their sons into the Armed Forces. A recent letter from the mothers and fathers of Hopi youth who have been conscripted into the Army stated that since they would not eat their sons or daughters, neither would they "accept money from the government should one of them be killed on foreign soil."

Apologists for the Indian Bureau are numerous and well-financed but the sole spokesmen for the Hopi are their wise and trusted hereditary chiefs who assume the grave tribal responsibilities without pay and till their fields like other Hopi.

Indian Bureau apologists dismiss as "too complex" the essence of the Hopi and Indian problem: self-determination. The Indian Bureau cannot give self-determination to the Hopi. All it can do is get out of the way, Gandhi demanded the same self-determination from English oppression for the Asian Indian that the American Indian demands from the United States Indian—that the Hopi have always demanded for *all* peoples.

* * *

DID YOU KNOW —

That Charlotte Forten (b. 1838) taught for two years (1856-58) in the Epes Grammar School of Salem, Mass., despite local prejudice?

Charlotte Forten, author of *The Port Royal Journal* (1862-63) and a noted figure of her day, was the granddaughter of James Forten. Forten, a free Negro, was a wealthy sailmaker and abolitionist of Philadelphia, Pa. Charlotte's father, Robert Bridges Forten, was so bitterly opposed to racial discrimination that he once thought of settling in Canada, and did live in England for a while. Refusing to educate his daughter Charlotte in the segregated Philadelphia schools, he sent her, age 16, to Salem, Mass., instead. She attended the Higginson Grammar School, and the Salem Normal School from which she graduated in 1855.

LEGAL DIRECTORY

The following directory of some of the many lawyers known to us is carried in response to numerous inquiries from readers desiring to contact attorney outside their home towns. The Crisis maintains no legal bureau, and the N.A.A.C.P. handles only cases involving color discrimination, segregation or denial of citizen rights.

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